

# THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY



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IN the last half of the nineteenth century the wives of Maine shipmasters frequently accompanied their husbands on their voyages. Children were born at sea, and families were as much at home on board ship as on shore. Various details of this type of life have already been published in *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, thanks particularly to Miss Joanna C. Colcord, whose efforts in collecting photographs of the interiors of ships' cabins have provided a visual record for those who have not shared her own experience of childhood at sea. In the illustrations to Miss Colcord's 'Domestic Life on American Sailing Ships' in the July 1942 issue one finds most of the characteristics of New England country decoration of the eighties. Although the space in cabins was limited and the conditions often uncomfortable, there were the rocking chairs, the pianos, the framed photographs, the plants in brass jardinières, the knick-knacks of the parlor, and even—when required—an occasional child's rocking-horse. While we have come to think of sea-faring families in terms of the later years of the last century, wives sometimes accompanied their husbands to sea at a much earlier period. In the present issue Gershom Bradford, in an article entitled 'For Better or for Worse,' publishes two letters by Mrs. Daniel Bradford of Duxbury, Massachusetts, wife of the

master of the ship *Hercules*, describing an Atlantic storm of September 1807 in which her husband's ship was dismantled.

Mrs. Bradford was an early sea-going wife, but by no means the earliest of which we have record in Massachusetts. In volume 32 of the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts Professor Robert E. Moody published an account of the misadventures of the ship *Province Galley*, Arthur Savage master, between the years 1714 and 1716. *Province Galley*, which had served as the 'navy' of the Province of Massachusetts Bay during Queen Anne's War, was sold at auction in 1713 and outfitted as a merchant vessel. Loaded with ancient, if not positively stinking, cod fish, she made her way from Boston to the Mediterranean. Although she returned with a variety of merchandise, including figs, Parmesan cheeses, marble hearths and possibly even a 'Lion of Barbary,' the voyage was not a success, and it is from the papers of the numerous law suits that followed *Province Galley's* return that Professor Moody has reconstructed the account of her voyage. Mrs. Savage was along, and this seems to have rankled with the owners, for one of their repeated grievances against Captain Savage in the suits was that he forgot their rights 'while frolicking from port to port for his Lady's curiosity.'

No such charge could have been made against Mrs. Daniel Bradford ninety years later. She began her letter to her sister describing the misfortunes of the ship *Hercules* in good straightforward fashion. 'Last Tuesday it was a shocking storm and our ship was dismantled.' Although good and frightened, she was a courageous woman who wished to make it abundantly clear that she was no hindrance to her husband in carrying out his duties, for she concludes with the message: 'Tell father Mr. B. did not neglect the ship to take care of me, for he never came below but once from 8 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon.' Such a woman knew what she was about, and her letters home are documents which the NEPTUNE is proud to be able to publish.



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## *The Maine West India Trade*

BY WILLIAM HUTCHINSON ROWE

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She proved to be the Schr. *Venis* of St. Kitts from St. Kitts bound to Quebec laden with Rum, Sugar and Molasses—*The Log of the Privateer Schooner Teazer, 17 August 1812.*

Old horse! Old horse! how came you here?  
From Sacarap to Portland Pier  
I've carted boards for many a year.  
Until worn out by sore abuse  
They salted me down for sailors use.  
The sailors they do me despise,  
They turn me over and damn my eyes,  
Cut off my meat and pick my bones  
And throw me over to Davy Jones.

REGARDLESS of what was to be a Maine boy's occupation or profession an indispensable part of his upbringing was a voyage or two in the West India trade. In the days when the privateers of France and England, not to mention the piratical craft swarming in the Caribbean, might be sighted at any time and in almost any latitude, this opened up endless vistas of adventure before the young sailor. In *The Hardscrabble* Elijah Kellogg spins a yarn of the building of a sloop by four boys. They manned her, filled her with ventures and took her out to Martinique where, according to Kellogg, 'Pluck and principle won the day' and each came home with 'what in those days was considered a handsome property.'

The facts do not belie the fiction. For example, in 1791 Captains Asa Clapp and William McLellan were witnesses to the frightful massacre of the white population of Haiti during the revolution precipitated by Toussaint L'Ouverture. And thereby hangs a tale of the shrewd guile by which a Maine skipper snatched in the face of disaster, a cargo and a profit.

The insurrection was hardly over when a downeast captain sailed into the port of San Domingo with a cargo of lumber worth seven thousand dollars. As soon as he dropped anchor a squad of Toussaint's black soldiers came aboard and took possession. The captain put up no resistance and learned from the sergeant that Toussaint was in camp near by and would be glad to meet any one from the United States, for which country he had a high regard. Now at this time every vessel in foreign trade carried a sea letter calling on all kings, rulers and potentates to render aid to vessels or crews in distress. They were issued by the governments, and the one carried by the captain was signed by President Washington. The captain told the sergeant that he had a letter from General Washington which he wished to read to his commander.

They went ashore and found the 'Black Napoleon' lying in a hammock dressed in full uniform. The announcement that Washington had written him a letter brought him to his feet with a bound and he ordered the letter read. Thereupon the captain read and the sergeant translated. Immensely pleased by the craftily inserted praise of himself, Toussaint asked what cargo the captain had brought and what he wished to take back. Thereupon he directed that the lumber be discharged and the vessel be loaded cargo for cargo with sugar and coffee. No brig ever had its capacity more fully tested. Every nook and corner was used and the sailors complained that they had no place to sleep. The profits of this voyage were over eighty thousand dollars.

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The Bay Colony quite early developed a thriving trade with 'the Islands.' In 1676 Edward Randolph, the 'Surveyor, collector and searcher for New England,' reported that Boston should be 'esteemed the mart town of the West Indies.' On the Maine coast, while there is record of early voyages to the Caribbean, this trade came to its maturity much later. By the middle of the seventeenth century Thomas Cutts was in the Barbados acting as agent for his brothers, receiving their cargoes of Piscataqua fish and lumber and shipping West India goods in return. Later he came to Kittery and carried on an extensive business in this line. Somewhat later the William Pepperells built up and maintained a vigorous trade with the islands.

Even before their settlement was safe from Indian attack the people of York joined together in partnership to build and fit out a vessel to send to the West Indies. By 1745 they had some twenty craft engaged in that trade. At the time that Wells included the present town of Kenne-

bunk, it also had its fleet and varied its trips to the southward with voyages to Halifax and Montreal where there was a ready market for cattle. This was a profitable but precarious cargo. There is a case on record where one skipper had his entire deck load of thirty-nine head washed overboard the first night out. Colonel Thomas Cutts, a former clerk of the Pepperells in Kittery, came to Saco in 1758 where he soon developed a large business with warehouses and a wharf at Saco Ferry. He is said to have netted a profit of \$100,000 on a cargo of molasses taken in exchange for one of lumber and which arrived in time to be sold on a high market.

When the people on the neck at Falmouth were engaged in the masting trade there had sprung up a West India trade of considerable extent. It was carried on principally by Ezekiel Cushing and William Simon-ton, who had a large and valuable wharf in the cove in South Portland which now bears his name. Further on down east the records are of a later date. For example the first voyage to that part of the world out of Blue Hill was made in 1768. Ellsworth's first vessel, *Susan and Abigail*, cleared in 1773 on a voyage, which thereafter became an annual affair, to Demerara with a cargo of oak staves and shingles turned out by Captain Isaac Smith's neighbors.

The products of the islands furnished many of the staples of pioneer life. In 1759 after the fall of Canada, new settlements were established well back from the coast and this increased the demand. Thus merchants in the coast towns not only supplied local needs but became wholesalers for the many little general stores up country whose signs 'W-I Goods' proclaimed them as the depots for rum and treacle. Barter was then the order of the day. The fisherman and the farmer found the merchant an indispensable middleman, whose warehouses and wharfs became the center of an ever growing import and export trade.

Before the Revolution, what with free access to the British islands, plenty of smuggling with the Spanish ports and trade with the French, American shipowners had been carrying on a most profitable business and were by way of making large fortunes. By the treaty of Paris which recognized our independence, the doors of the British West India ports were 'slammed in our faces.' Parliament told the planters of the islands that they would find their supplies in the Canadian provinces. But the English merchants and the inhabitants of these islands wanted American produce. Yankee captains could supply them more promptly, with better quality and at lower prices than could their own people in Nova Scotia.

Moreover the Yankee captain would take in trade West India goods

and particularly molasses which had no ready sale in Europe, or, if need be, he could pay cash. The governors of the islands appointed the collectors and the judges. Backed by them these officials found many excuses for winking the official eye, and few vessels entering their ports loaded to the scuppers with Maine products went out light. Provided the most important part of the transaction was not omitted and that a five joe piece crossed an English palm, stress of weather, relief for a starving population, the need for rebuilding after a hurricane, a British charter acquired in Nova Scotia, a Spanish one in Trinidad or an ancient register dating from before the Revolution, was quite enough. So it was that when Horatio, later Lord, Nelson was sent out in 1786 to enforce the Navigation Acts, he wrote home saying:

When I arrived in Barbadoes, the Bay was so full of American vessels, lading and unlading without molestation from the customs house officers that there were more American flags than English and had I been set down from the air I should most assuredly have been convinced that I was in an American instead of a British port.

At this time by virtue of treaties American vessels had access to the French islands as well as to the Dutch—St. Eustatia, St. Martin and Curaçao—and the Swedish—St. Bartholomew. The commerce of the island of Cuba was in theory a complete monopoly, but its inhabitants as well as those of the other Spanish colonies encouraged smuggling. Thus there was built up an enormous contraband trade which all the fleets of Spain were unable to prevent. It was with this island that the largest amount of the trade from the Maine coast was carried on. Havana in particular offered a ready market for ship timber and spars for the large number of Spanish men-of-war that were being built there.

The vessels engaged in the West India trade seem surprisingly small today. They comprised large sloops, two-masted schooners and brigs. For two decades after the Revolution, the average size of a vessel out of the Kennebec was but one hundred and twenty-nine tons. As this figure includes ships the majority were much smaller. Being of moderate draft they were able to take the more direct route to Cuba across the Great Bahama Bank. Over this route traveled a goodly part of the output of the Maine forests in the shape of masts, spars, boxes, shingles and staves. These vessels cost no more than fifteen or twenty dollars a ton since the lumber for them could be cut within a few rods of the building ways. Their floors were of red oak or beech and their tops of pitch pine, Norway pine, spruce, hemlock or anything that came to hand. Spruce limbs saturated with pitch furnished good treenails. However rough in appear-



ance they might be they were staunch and lasted well. For example, in 1810 Captain Ezekiel Dyer built himself the brig *Cordelia* at Ferry Village opposite Portland. Thirty-nine years later an item in the *Portland Transcript* announced that she was soon to sail for the West Indies on her ninetieth voyage.

The cargoes they carried were varied. Almost every necessity of life was welcome in islands whose only products were luxuries. There was lumber—sawed lumber and masts, spars and hewn timbers for the shipyards of Havana. On top of a deck load of lumber and on the decks of other vessels there would often be carried the small, flat-bottomed craft known as 'moses boats' which were in great demand in the sugar islands. The planters used them in lightering molasses out of the narrow streams bordering their plantations to the brigs awaiting their cargoes in deep water.

The products of the cooper's trade formed a considerable item. There were shooks with the staves jointed and crozed, hoops shaved and the headings fitted to put in place. These are terms in the cooper's trade. Shooks are bundles of staves, hoops, and heads, each bundle containing the number sufficient to make up a single hogshead, tierce, cask or barrel. Boxes knocked down and shipped in bundles are also called shooks. The saving in cargo space is obvious. This aspect of the West India trade has survived into our own time.

Then also there were house frames all ready to put up, oxen and horses for the plough, the sugar and the tread mill, farm produce such as parsnips, potatoes, onions and grain, beef, mutton, pork, pickled fish, soap, candles and dried codfish in 'drums' of from five to eight hundred pounds each. Indeed the manifests of these vessels read like the inventory of a country store. And, what profits they paid! Lumber from the banks of Maine rivers which cost there eight dollars a thousand sold in Havana for sixty. Beets and parsnips brought sixteen dollars a barrel in the French islands. Flour sold for twenty-one dollars a barrel, beef for twenty-four and pork for twenty-seven. How completely this trade absorbed the maritime activity of these early years is shown by the fact that in 1787 seventy-three out of the eighty-nine clearances from Portland were for some port in the West Indies.

With prosperity came the desire for better facilities to take care of this rapidly increasing business. Old wharves and breastworks disappeared. In Portland, Union, Long, and Commercial wharves pushed far out into the harbor. On these were constructed substantial stores, warehouses and distilleries. At Kennebunk prodigious efforts were made to

improve the harbor with the ill-fated Mousam Canal and thereafter the more successful piers at the mouth of the Kennebunk River. King's Wharf was built at Bath and others were constructed at Wiscasset. Up to this time the District had been dependent on Boston for its banking facilities. In 1799 the Portland Bank was chartered to be followed in 1802 by the Maine Bank. That year also saw the start of the Lincoln and Kennebec Bank at Wiscasset.

Many of the finest houses in Maine were built in the last decade of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century. There are the beautiful mansions of Wiscasset which reached 'the apogee of the Georgian style and the culmination of the colonial and early national architecture.' The Nickels, Hodge, Smith, Tucker, Cook, Lee, Wood and Carlton houses of this town belong to this period. So also does the Hamilton house at South Berwick, the Sewall at York, the Lyman and Robert Lord at Kennebunk, the Thomas Cutts mansion at Saco, the Cobb, Ingraham, Wingate and Ebenezer Storer houses in Portland, the Cotterill at Damariscotta and the Kavanagh at Damariscotta Mills. Many attempts have been made to give the credit for the beauty of form and line of these houses to foreign architectural plans. In most instances they were the work in both design and execution of local carpenters and joiners—the very same men who set the frames of their vessels 'by the eye.' Indeed no better education in beauty of line could be obtained than by the designing of ships. Ship carpenters framed and erected, ship joiners finished the interiors and ship carvers turning from figure-heads, trailboards and stern ornaments, carved with equal facility mantels, stairways and wainscoting.

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The news of the Treaty of Ghent which concluded the three years of 'Mr. Madison's War' reached the coast of Maine in mid-winter. Many vessels were stripped of their gear and all but their lower masts. Indeed some were even frozen in the ice of the creeks and rivers where they had been hidden away. By April 1816, many little brigs were bearing away on their old courses to the southward. Their masters hoped to find good markets awaiting them but in this they were disappointed. Very few made saving voyages. Although commerce revived slowly it did not flourish as it had at the beginning of the century. It was not until some time after the European wars that it became more stable and developed a character all its own. This period from the close of the second war with England until 1840 came to be known to old timers as the old West India trade.



The ships and the rigs which were peculiarly adapted to the West India trade have completely disappeared from the seas. They were small craft, in the average around two hundred tons, although after 1830 vessels of three hundred and over were launched. Drawing but little water they were able to look into almost any creek or river that emptied into a cove or bay in search of a likely cargo. Being very full bodied they could load to advantage. The pros and cons of the various types, not to mention the quarrel-provoking question of their proper designation, have formed a favorite topic of maritime debate wherever those of a sea turn of mind may foregather.

This period is pre-eminently that of the brig—now obsolete for three quarters of a century. In the building of these Maine had a near monopoly. The full rigged brig had both masts, main and fore, in three spars and was wholly square rigged save that on the main mast was a standing gaff to which was bent a small fore-and-aft sail called the spanker. The snow was much akin to the brig, the difference being that the snow set her spanker on a trysail mast set on deck a foot or so abaft the main mast and secured aloft to the trestle trees of the mast.

These gave way to the hermaphrodite brig. This was a cross between a brig and a schooner being square rigged on the foremast and fore-and-aft rigged on the mainmast. Fewer men were required to handle her and her economy made her exceedingly popular. A modification of this was that familiarly known as the 'jackass brig.' This carried one or more square sails on the main mast. Out of Maine waters the hermaphrodite and particularly the jackass brig was often called a brigantine. But on the coast of Maine the brigantine carried the sails of a brig on her foremast and her mainmast was made in two spars having the rig of a topsail schooner with at least one square main-topsail and sometimes a main-topgallant sail. This was thought to be a more weatherly rig than the others for the big fore-and-aft sail was a powerful pusher when close hauled on the wind.

Then there was the familiar 'tops'l schooner,' which was widely used though never quite as popular in the District as the brig rigs. Here the masts and sails were those of a fore-and-aft, save that on the foremast she carried a topsail and sometimes a topgallant sail, the latter two being square sails. Finally there was the completely forgotten but quite popular 'tops'l sloop.' One is described by Elijah Kellogg in *The Hardscrabble*. In addition to her mainmast, she carried a full suit of square sails—course, topsail, topgallant sail and royal. Says the author:

Her lower mast was rather short in proportion to the top, top-gallant and royal masts. The mainmast was set well aft, and raked a good deal. The bowsprit and jib-

boom were long. She had a sprit-sail yard and double martingale. The forebraces led to the end of the bowsprit, the others to the end of the jib-boom. In bad weather they had preventive-braces that led aft to the rail. She carried fore-topmast, staysail, jib and flying-jib.

The number of smart little vessels of all these types and rigs which were owned in the various ports is amazing. Two trips a year was the rule. A vessel would leave the Maine coast in the latter half of December, arriving at the islands at the end of the Christmas holidays. She would unload, take on a return cargo and reach home around the last of February. Immediately she would reload and go out on her second voyage reaching port again some time in the latter part of April. Then they would lay her up over the summer months during the yellow fever and hurricane season in the islands and the planting and haying season at home. In October the most industrious would go on a coasting voyage.

As time went on the larger merchants established business connections with merchants in the West Indies. This gave assurance of a market and a return cargo and permitted the brigs to sail almost with the regularity of a packet. Others, who comprised the majority, cleared merely to the West Indies with no particular port in view, seeking a market where the best opportunity offered. These voyages did not always bring the warmth, sunshine and delight of the tropics together with enormous profits. A typical experience is that of Captain Theodore Wells in the schooner *Friendship* bound from Wells to St. Vincents with a cargo of hewed lumber. This his owners had ordered him not to dispose of unless he could get one hundred gallons of molasses for a thousand feet of lumber. He had a short and pleasant voyage down to St. Vincents but found no market there. The captain tells his own tale:

From St. Vincents I sailed for Grenada where not finding a market from thence I left for Trinidad where I was still unable to effect a sale. Proceeding northward I touched at Port Royal in the island of Martinico. Here I failed to find a satisfactory sale. From this port I proceeded to Bastarre in the Island of Guadaloupe where the same disappointment awaited me. I next touched at Nevis but could not dispose of my freight without trusting it in hands of doubtful solvency. From here I sailed for St. Thomas. At this point there was no demand for a cargo like mine. I attempted to reach Porto Rico which was the last island where molasses was to be found excepting Cuba but in this failed because of a fresh blow and thick stormy weather which drove me by it when I ran for Aquin in the Island of St. Domingo and here as elsewhere I found a dull market and no sale.

To cut short this catalogue of frustration, he ran from St. Domingo to Aux Cayes, to Jérémie, to Mariguana, and to Port-au-Prince where he

found a large number of vessels that were making losing sales in an overstocked market. Leaving there he sailed to St. Marks. At last returning to Jérémie, from whence, after spending twenty-eight days in making a sale and forty more in waiting for his cargo of coffee, he sailed for home only to lose both his vessel and cargo when but a few days out.

Neither dull markets nor the reefs of the Bahama Cays were the worst hazards of a West India voyage. There was piracy. During the long years of the American and Napoleonic wars the islands and cays had become infested with pirates of the lowest type. Encouraged by the authorities, they preyed openly on American commerce. In November 1821, eleven pirate vessels were cruising from Maisí on the southeast coast of Cuba. Five worked together as a squadron off Cape San Antonio on the southwest coast and five more east of Matanzas on the north. Between Matanzas and Havana a flotilla of small boats kept constant watch for vessels becalmed in the offing, attacking them as soon as darkness should fall. Still another nest of small boats operated at Cape Cruz, the crews living in caves on the shore. The ship news of the period is full of accounts of the atrocious attacks by these gangs of cutthroats who were guided by the maxim, 'dead cats don't mew.'

The brig *Dolphin* of Nobleboro was attacked in August 1821, off Cape Antonio, the mate stabbed and the men hoisted up by the neck to compel them to tell where money was concealed. *Alliance* of Kennebunk fell into the hands of the same gang the next January. The members of the crew were robbed of everything, even their shirts, beaten, put into the longboat and set adrift. *Mary Jane*, *Evergreen*, *Milo*, *Dispatch* and *Cobbseconte* were given like treatment, the last when only four miles out from Morro Castle, Havana. The Portland brig *Mechanic* was burned and the crew murdered. The murder of Captain Clement Perkins of the Kennebunk brig *Belisarius* was particularly horrible. In March 1823, when off Campeche she was boarded by the crew of a piratical schooner of some forty tons. They were vicious brutes. The captain told them where they could find what money there was on board. Disappointed at not finding it as much as they hoped, they cut off first his right arm, then his left and finally his leg above the knee. Not satisfied with this cruelty, they filled his mouth with oakum, saturated it with oil and setting it on fire, ended his sufferings.

The murder of all but one of the crew of a Maine brig, the story told by this survivor, and the nation-wide publicity given to it is said to have brought about a campaign of extermination that all but cleared the Caribbean of these pests. On 28 November 1824, the brig *Betsey* sailed

from Wiscasset with a cargo of lumber for Matanzas. She was under the command of Elias Hilton, with two mates, three seamen and a cook. On a December night, the brig struck a rock off the Double Head Shot Keys. The crew took to the boats, eventually landing on one of the Cuba keys. This they found to be inhabited by five fishermen, the leader of whom the captain recognized as one with whom he had previously traded at Matanzas. Feeling that he could trust him he made arrangements with him to take the party to the island in the morning. This opinion was not shared by the mate. His suspicions were aroused by the secret departure of the fishermen during the night and all but confirmed by his finding evidence of violence in a hidden cove of the key.

As they were leaving the following morning their vessel was attacked by ten Spaniards in an open boat. Aided by the fishermen, the Spaniards bound them all and carried them to the cove which the mate had discovered the evening before. When they arrived at the head of the cove they assured their victims that 'Americans were very good beef for their knives.' Then they began their work of death by decapitating Captain Hilton and murdering all but two of the others in a manner too barbarous to describe. The executioner to whom the second mate, Daniel Collins, had been assigned slipped up. His glancing blow cut the cord with which Collins was bound. Despite his severe wound he was able to escape to the mangrove bushes. Here creeping in water up to his chin he reached the edge of the island. Sleeping in the mangroves at night and swimming from key to key by day, tormented by hunger and thirst, the heat and mosquitoes, he at last reached the island of Cuba.

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The eighteen thirties and the roaring forties were days of great activity for the ports of Maine. The railroads had not been built and the shortest route to the seaboard from northern New Hampshire beyond the White Mountains and from all northern Vermont to Derby Line, was through Crawford Notch. There was little money in the new country. Trade was almost entirely by barter. The farmer brought his produce to the seaboard merchant and took 'store pay' in return. All this country produce had to be transported to market and exchanged for the flour, salt fish, coffee, rum and 'long sweetening' as molasses was called, which were necessities of life in the pioneer settlements. So in winter the 'Vermonters' came down the present Roosevelt trail in long strings of red pungs. On a projecting board stood the driver clad invariably in a long blue frock, guiding his team over the frozen road. In the pung were his



round hogs, his butter and his lard, together with the large round box which held his provisions—generally huge chunks of cheese and molasses doughnuts.

The whole country was awakening to the economic value of the back country. In 1825 the Erie Canal was completed and in Maine various attempts were made to open up the expanding frontier. Lakes and ponds were joined by canals to facilitate the bringing of lumber and other products to a shipping point. From 1820 to 1840 the Maine Legislature granted charters for twenty-five such enterprises. The most important was the Cumberland and Oxford Canal. Completed in 1830 it opened up the whole Sebago Lake region with its wide branching system of lakes and ponds. Moving slowly down the twenty miles from White's Bridge in Windham to Portland Harbor, the flat bottomed boats, *Whirlwind*, *Major Downing*, *Honest Quaker*, *Reindeer* and others added their cargoes to the holds of the waiting West India brigs.

When a cargo of coffee or molasses came alongside a wharf or when lumber was being loaded aboard the waterfront resounded with the song of the negro stevedores. They hoisted the hogsheads from the holds by a tackle (pronounced taykel) and fall, all the time singing:

Everybody he lub something,  
Hoojun—John—a hoojun,  
Song he set the heart a beating,  
Hoojun—John—a hoojun.

There were no winches in those days. It is said that after they were introduced negroes disappeared from the northern seaports for they refused to work with a winch as with that sort of labor their songs had no place. Adding to the confusion were the busy lumber surveyors who ran from one ox-load to another with a shingle for their record in one hand and a rule staff for their scaling in the other. On the wharf as the cargo came out stood the gauger checking the hogsheads and boxes against the manifest. Since this document sometimes failed to list all the cargo there sometimes arose the question as to how this surplus could be landed without detection by the customs officer. It was often solved by the owner taking the inspector home with him to dinner and lingering rather long over the wine. Then a few more hogsheads of molasses or boxes of sugar would be hoisted out and stored in the warehouse without appearing on the tally.

On the inventories of the West India stores, as in the manifests of the West India brigs, rum, coffee and molasses lead all the rest. After the

Revolution rum from Jamaica and the other English islands or from St. Croix and the Dutch ports lost its place in the imports. Before that time old Falmouth had its distillery wharf. With the cost of molasses at thirteen pence per gallon and the cost of distilling it five and a half, Maine merchants were quick to perceive the large profits to be had in manufacturing rum at home. There were seven distilleries at one time in Portland, one in Bath, another in Wiscasset and Vaughan's great establishment at Hallowell. The amount consumed was surprising. During one winter a country store in Pittston disposed of ninety hogsheads. A boatman on the Cumberland and Oxford Canal reported that during the season he alone delivered three hundred barrels to the towns along his route.

Coffee was the most desired cargo. This was because of its small bulk as against its value. Haiti, which before the insurrection of the blacks had been the richest of the islands, produced much of the fragrant bean. Cuba also was a high producer before the great hurricane of 1844 destroyed her coffee groves. But the islands of the Spanish Main were growing a steadily increasing amount. Brazil, too, was fast attaining the pre-eminence that has made the name of her principal port, Rio, synonymous with coffee. As the years passed, coffee figured less and less in the manifests of the Maine brigs. More and more the cargoes consisted entirely of molasses. In the marine news the romantic names of the saints of the Leeward and Windward Islands occur with less frequency. They are replaced by a monotonous iteration of Havana, Cardenas or Matanzas in Cuba, and San Juan Guayama in Porto Rico. The brigs built for this trade at Pipe Stave Landing on the Piscataqua by Sarah Orne Jewett's grandfather were known as the Berwick 'molasses brigs.'

Havana had long been a favorite port for Maine captains. As early as 1826 over one-tenth of the 117,796 tons of shipping which entered this beautiful harbor in that year hailed from Maine. Cuba not only took a great deal of lumber from the state, the best was also demanded. 'Large, handsome lumber suitable for the Havana market,' so read the orders. In the six years from 1856 to 1861, there went 1207 cargoes of this staple to this island. As the sugar and molasses trade grew in the later forties and fifties, Cuba turned to the Maine woods for her sugar boxes, molasses hogsheads and tierces. In 1856 eight vessels sailed from Bath to Havana carrying 12,368 such boxes and 3,102 hogsheads. Portland monopolized the shook trade and became a collecting center for them. During the six years which have been noted above only seventeen of the 1,040 lumber cargoes from here went to any other than Cuban ports. Sugar boxes are claimed to have been first manufactured at Saccarappa. This is the present



city of Westbrook on the Presumpscot River. As with the 'molasses brigs' the vessels carrying these shooks came to be known as 'Saccarappas.'

Many small sawmills were busy sawing and fitting the box boards to proper lengths all ready to be set up and nailed on the sugar plantations. The cooper's trade in the manufacture of hogshead and tierce shooks was one of the best paid in the towns near the coast. In 1867 there were 263 such shops in the state. As has been explained the shook was a package of red oak staves and heading, numbered and ready to be set up as a hogshead, a tierce or a cask when needed. This was done by the coopers on the plantations or by state of Maine coopers who went out to the islands for that purpose. They ranged in price from fifty cents to a dollar and a half. Since the going rate was from thirty to thirty-five cents from the rough stock a man who could complete four or five sets in a day made a good day's wage for the times.

Molasses was cheap, fetching some fifty cents a gallon at retail. Hence it was consumed in enormous quantities in the country and particularly in the logging camps. As one writer has put it:

Foresters float down timber that seamen may build ships and go to the saccharine islands of the south for molasses; for without molasses no lumberman could be happy in the unsweetened wilderness. Pork lubricates the joints, molasses gives tenacity to his muscles.

A variation in sweetening was the raw brown sugar. This was known to the trade as 'muscovado' and was procured by draining the molasses through holes in the bottom of the hogshead after the crystallization of the cane syrup had begun. Another variety was the 'clayed' form. This name derived from the fact that the containers were sealed with moist clay. This latter type was shipped mostly from Havana in long wooden boxes while the muscovado came from Matanzas in hogsheads weighing around half a ton. White sugar was looked upon as a luxury. Refined of its impurities, it was marketed in a cone or loaf at a price much higher than that of raw sugar.

There were profits to be had in the process of refining. This was perceived by the West India merchants of Portland, one of the first of whom was John Bundy Brown. In partnership with others in 1845 he erected what is said to have been the third sugar house in the United States. By perseverance and constant experimentation he developed a process that produced an excellent quality of granulated sugar. His famous Portland Sugar House was incorporated in 1855. An immense establishment with warehouses and wharves was erected and the main refinery was eight

stories high. With a capital of four hundred thousand dollars there were employed two hundred persons. It turned out some two hundred and fifty barrels of sugar a day and processed thirty thousand hogsheads of molasses in a year.

In the sixties the demand of the Brown establishment coupled with that of two other sugar houses of good capacity operating in the city and the market in the vast territory opened to the west and the east by the Grand Trunk and Maine Central Railroads made Portland a molasses port that was a close rival of New York. In 1860 the national total was 31,000,000 gallons. New York was in the lead with 8,500,000 and Portland was second with 5,700,000. In 1868 Portland's peak year of importation there came into the harbor cargoes totalling 59,510 hogsheads and in addition 10,055 hogsheads and 16,800 boxes of sugar.

This was the trade and those were the days for the rugged individualist. In the year 1865 Captain Benjamin Webster contracted for the building of the brig *Emma*. She was built in ninety days. When the men were in the woods in January cutting her frame, Captain Webster contracted for her cargo with a Portland West India merchant. On the third of April she cleared fully loaded and sailed out of Portland Harbor with a fine northwest wind reaching Cuba in time to secure a return cargo.

This article comprises a chapter from Mr. Rowe's forthcoming book, *A Maritime History of Maine*, which will be published by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. In its preparation numerous contemporary accounts in the newspapers of the day, and personal reminiscences like the *Narrative of Captain Theodore Wells' life and adventures* (Biddeford, 1874) and Daniel Collins' *Narrative of the shipwreck of the Betsy on the coast of Cuba* (Wiscasset, 1825), have been drawn upon. Perhaps the greatest help in reconstructing the life of the times were the books of Elijah Kellogg in his *Elm Island* and *Live Oak Boys* series and the descriptions of old Portland scenes in the voluminous writings of Edward Henry Elwell.



## *The Early History of Midway Islands*

BY LYLE S. SHELMIDINE

THE 'Battle of Midway' focused the attention of the world upon a small coral atoll in the Pacific known as Midway Islands. Located almost in the middle of the Pacific, remote from the world, they have nonetheless been closely associated with our own history. Described by one writer<sup>1</sup> as 'the last place on earth' and the 'end of the world,' and not only because the atoll is situated so close to the international date line and at the end of yesterday when the rest of the world is living in tomorrow, but also because Midway came late into our known world.

Whaling vessels started plying the Pacific as early as 1791, the first ship putting into Honolulu in 1819; 'By 1844 they were calling there at the rate of four hundred per year. Thence they passed their explorations through the area of a circle with a radius of more than three thousand miles, east to Payta, south to Vau Vau, west to Yokohama, north to Kamchatka.'<sup>2</sup> The island of Kure, fifty-four miles to the northwest of Midway, was the scene of a shipwreck in 1837,<sup>3</sup> yet Midway Islands were not reported until Captain N. C. Brooks, skipper of the Hawaiian bark *Gambia*, claimed discovery of them on 5 July 1859. Captain Brooks took possession of them in the name of the United States. 'This he did under the Guano Islands Act, passed by Congress in 1856 which authorized temporary American occupation of unclaimed guano islands.'<sup>4</sup> He named the discovery Middlebrooks Islands, and took glowing reports of them back with him to Honolulu.

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Farrell, 'The Taming of an Island at its Worst,' *Asia*, XXXI (1931), 501-507, 532-533.

<sup>2</sup> George W. Dalzell, *The Flight from the Flag* (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> The English whaleship *Gladstones* was wrecked on the reef extending from Kure [then called Ocean] Island on 9 July 1837. Only one man was lost, and he was a drunk who jumped overboard. The master, Captain John Richard Brown, with the chief mate and eight seamen, sailed for the Sandwich Islands on 15 December in a schooner that they had cobbled together from fragments of the wrecked vessel, and eventually the other survivors were brought off by a vessel dispatched by the British Consul in the Sandwich Islands. A chart of Ocean [Kure] Island, prepared by Captain Brown, was published in *The Hawaiian Spectator*, I (July 1838), 336, with a brief account of the wreck.

<sup>4</sup> Farrell, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

A writer in *The Polynesian* of 13 August 1859, discussing Captain Brooks's discovery, suggests 'with the exception only of Honolulu, these Islands possess advantages for a coaling depot superior to any other place on the line from California to China.'<sup>5</sup> The possibilities apparently were sufficient to stimulate the interest of the Pacific Mail Steamship Line, for that company urged the Navy Department to obtain fuller information about the Islands.<sup>6</sup>

On 28 May 1867, the Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Gideon Wells, instructed Rear Admiral H. K. Thatcher, U. S. Navy, commanding the North Pacific Squadron, that 'the Department deems that the *Lackawanna*, or some other suitable vessel of the North Pacific Squadron under your command, be despatched without avoidable delay, in search of this island, and if found to take possession of it in the name of the United States, and to make as accurate and complete a survey of it as possible.'<sup>7</sup>

The instructions were promptly carried out by Captain William Reynolds, U. S. Navy, and he proudly wrote Rear Admiral Thatcher as follows regarding it:

U. S. Steamer *Lackawanna* (2 Ron)  
At Sea September 30th 1867  
Lat. 23°-35' N Long. 155°-24' W

Sir:

I have the honor to report that on Wednesday the 28th of August, in compliance with the orders of the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, of May 28th I took formal possession of Brooks Island, and reefs, for the United States.

Having previously erected a suitable flag-staff, I landed on that day, accompanied by all the officers who could be spared from the ship, with six boats armed, and equipped, and under a salute of 21 guns, and with three cheers, hoisted the national ensign, and called on all hands to witness the act of taking possession, in the name of the United States.

Captain Burdett, the Agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, was present upon the occasion.

The ceremonies of taking possession over, the Howitzers, and small arm men, and Marines were exercised at Target firing.

Having hauled the seine, and procured an abundant supply of fish, the men cooked their dinner on shore, and the rest of the day was spent pleasantly, picnic fashion upon the island.

It is exceedingly gratifying to me, to have been thus concerned in taking possession of the first island ever added to the dominion of the United States, beyond our own shores and I sincerely hope that this instance will by no means be the last of our insular annexations.

I have ventured to name the only harbor at this island after the present Hon.

<sup>5</sup> *Paradise of the Pacific* (October, 1936), p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> David N. Leff, *Uncle Sam's Pacific Islets* (Stanford University, 1940), p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> The instruction to Rear Admiral Thatcher and Captain Reynolds' report, which is quoted herewith, are in the Office of Naval Records and Library collection, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.



Secretary of the Navy, and to call its roadstead, after the present Hon. Secretary of State.

Rear Admiral  
W. K. Thatcher, U. S. N.  
Comd'g North Pacific Squadron  
San-Francisco  
Cal.

I am Very Respectfully  
Your obd't servant.  
(signed) Wm. Reynolds  
Captain U. S. N.

During this period of United States history the Secretary of State, William E. Seward, was fostering an expansionist policy, but Congress was not responding, and as one historian expresses it, 'Ironically enough, the only semi-tropical outposts of any importance acquired during Seward's term as Secretary of State were Midway Islands, tiny dots of land one thousand miles west of Hawaii.'<sup>8</sup> Midway Islands therefore has the dubious honor of being the 'first fruits' of Seward's expansionist policy, perhaps paving the way for the annexation of Hawaii.

The Navy Department apparently wished to establish a naval station on the islands, for Welles made an entry in his diary dated 16 January 1869: 'Wrote a letter to Grimes and Naval Committee and sent documents and charts concerning Midway Islands in the Pacific Ocean.'<sup>9</sup> It will be noted that the name Midway Islands had already supplanted Middlebrooks, possibly because the Pacific Mail people thought it caught on better.

Carrying out the Navy Department's wishes, the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate recommended, in January 1869, that a naval station be established on Midway. They pointed out its commercial possibilities as a coaling station and they emphasized the political implications if some other nation should occupy it 'and we may find, in some future war, another Nassau shielding with its neutral flag other *Alabamas* and *Floridas*. . . .'<sup>10</sup>

The Naval Affairs Committee recommended that \$50,000 be appropriated for dredging a 24-foot channel at Midway, and this was allocated in March, 1869.<sup>11</sup> This sum was far too inadequate for the work to be done, and it appears that the Navy Department was poorly informed as to the nature of the task to be performed on Midway. The *Honolulu Advertiser* of 10 April 1869 carried the following editorial severely ridiculing the government for its action.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1940), p. 395.

<sup>9</sup> Gideon Welles, *Diary* (Boston, 1911), III, 508.

<sup>10</sup> Leff, op cit., 13, citing Senate Reports, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, No. 144, pp. 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> Leff, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

We received by the last mail a copy of the *Washington Daily Globe*, in which the discussion in regard to an appropriation for improving the harbor at what is called Midway Islands, was printed in full. To parties residing in these Islands knowing the facts in regard to their character, it seems strange that a reasonable man could suggest, and urge an appropriation of \$50,000, for the improvement of the mouth of a lagoon in a low coral island.

We have frequently conversed with the late Captain Snow, who owned and fitted the bark *Gambia*, which Captain Brooks commanded at the time of the reputed discovery of the harbor, in regard to the islands, and he never entertained the idea that the lagoon possessed value as a harbor, exposed as it is to every wind that blows.

It is evident from the remarks of Senator Nye, that he has but little knowledge of Midway Islands and their harbor. When first called upon to give facts concerning the ownership of the islands, he started off with the blunder or mis-statement that they were 'discovered about three years ago by an American citizen by the name of Brooks,' and this is a fair sample of the Hon. Senator's knowledge concerning the islands.

To those who are acquainted with the coral and sand formation at the mouth of the lagoons, it seems the acme of absurdity to ask an appropriation of \$50,000, or even \$100,000, for the purpose of dredging them to any required depth, and keep them so. Again, when the Senator urges the importance of the islands for 'our whalemén, who are now whaling in the northern seas of the Pacific,' who now 'have to go to Honolulu every year to winter—but if this improvement is made they can winter at Midway Islands, where there is plenty of fresh water, and save some twenty-four hundred miles of somewhat dangerous navigation,'—we must smile. This is rich, and will make the whalemén who 'have to go to Honolulu every year,' laugh. The only inducement the Hon. Senator offers to the whalemén is that they can get 'plenty of fresh water.' Certainly the idea of 'twenty-four hundred miles of somewhat dangerous navigation' will be news to the whalemén. Doubtless all ocean navigation may seem dangerous to the Senator, but that the navigation from Midway Islands to this group is extra hazardous, may do to tell marines or his brother Senators, but not to seamen.

The Senator's ideas in regard to the outfit of a whaler do not seem to have got beyond 'plenty of fresh water.' An apprenticeship in New Bedford or Honolulu would soon satisfy him that, let alone the matter of bread and salt provisions, it is sometimes necessary to get men, and after you get them to give them a chance to land where they have a chance to get the scurvy out of their bones. So far as we know of Midway Islands, from whalemén and others, and we believe whalemén knew of them long before Captain Brooks ever saw them, their population is rather limited, and not of such material as man whaleships, consisting principally of land crabs and turtles; moreover that the plenteous supply of fresh water only exists in the imagination of the Senator. Senator Cole's description of the island as being 'in the form of a crater of a volcano,' differs somewhat from the description of others who have been there, and even that of Captain Reynolds, of the *Lackawanna*, who visited it for the purpose of surveying. Senator Grimes' statement that there was 'eight feet of water at low tide, and perhaps twenty or twenty-one at high tide,' will certainly astonish those acquainted with tides in this ocean. However, the 'perhaps' which the



Senator makes use of will let him out when the contrary is proven. When the gentleman says that he 'was satisfied that \$50,000 would not be required to make the proper improvements at this harbor, and remove the obstruction,' we can only reply that we should like to see the data laid before him upon which to base his opinion. We however do believe that 'the gentlemen representing the Pacific coast are very deeply interested in it.'

We can stand a mild taking down, but when men attempt to extol the advantages of a sand-island or atoll, and its harbor, at the expense of our verdure-clad islands, and harbor, we must enter our protest. Money can accomplish wonders, and it may convert Midway Islands into a coal station for the China line of steamers, or even a naval station, but we don't believe that whalemens will take advantage of it.

The U. S. S. *Saginaw* was detailed to sail to Midway carrying supplies and men for accomplishing the channel dredging operations. Lieutenant Commander Montgomery Sicard, U. S. Navy, was captain of the vessel and in charge of the work. The schooner *Kate Piper* was chartered to carry supplies back and forth from Honolulu and assist in the work. Sicard mentions in his report making use of a scow left by the Pacific Mail<sup>12</sup> which indicates that the line had already started using Midway as a coaling station.

At the end of seven months little had been accomplished, the funds were exhausted and the first Midway dredging project was abandoned, not to be taken up again until the Navy returned in 1938. The ill-fated voyage of *Saginaw* on its return to Honolulu, its wreck upon Kure Island, and the subsequent cruise of *Saginaw's* gig, are well known to naval historians.<sup>13</sup>

'So,' as one writer of the period expresses it 'ends the history of the attempt to make a harbour and a coaling station at Midway Island. The result has been the loss of four lives and five vessels of war, the sinking of \$50,000 and months of hardship and privation—and nothing accomplished. And all this primarily, to gratify private spite by giving Honolulu the go-by, and secondly, to put money in somebody's pocket.'<sup>14</sup>

During the next fifteen years Midway Islands sink into obscurity. The gooney birds probably came and went, violent storms rolled over its beaches; but ships passed her by, for we have no records of any vessel touching at Midway.

Then, in 1886, the lull is broken and we have enacted on Midway a drama of madness and murder which is amazing to behold. The story is confusing, the accounts are contradictory, but we can piece together a

<sup>12</sup> Letter of Lieutenant Commander Montgomery Sicard to Rear Admiral Thomas Turner, commanding Pacific Fleet, 16 April 1870, in The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>13</sup> George H. Read, *The Last Cruise of the Saginaw* (Boston, 1912).

<sup>14</sup> *The Friend*, February 1871.

gruesome tale which has come to be known as the 'Jacobsen Affair,' probably, more properly, the 'Jorgenson Affair'—after the leading character who was either a madman or a much maligned and long suffering individual.

The schooner *General Siegel* out on a six-months shark fishing expedition was on its way back to Honolulu when she stopped at Midway.<sup>15</sup> The gooneys were laying and it was decided to remain and put in a supply of gooney eggs. On the night of 16 November 1886, a terrific storm arose, driving the schooner on the reef a total loss.

Seven or eight men were marooned on Midway as a result of the wreck of the *General Siegel*. The various sources do not agree on the number of men nor on the name of the Captain. E. Olsen, a seaman who was a member of the crew, calls the Captain 'Abserdine,'<sup>16</sup> but other accounts call him 'Jacobsen,'<sup>17</sup> and subsequently the episode has been called the 'Jacobsen Affair.' However, because of the fact that Jorgenson is the main character it is called here the 'Jorgenson Affair.'

The shipwrecked party made use of the buildings abandoned by the dredging party. They were fortunate in arriving shortly after the gooneys had begun to lay and so were provided with food.

Shortly after the shipwreck a sailor, Peter Larkin, went fishing with dynamite and lost his hand. Jorgenson claims that his 'crying out with pain' finally drove the so-called Captain Jacobsen to administer a medicine, actually a poison, and Larkin died.

After Larkin's death, another seaman named Brown hinted before Jacobsen that Larkin had been poisoned; but the Captain seemed to take no notice. One day, however, Jacobsen and Brown went to Eastern Island; and the Captain returned alone.

'To our questions,' said Jorgenson, 'he replied coolly that Brown had shot himself by accident and that he had buried the body where it fell. Of course I suspected murder, and I made up my mind to have the truth. On the next day I went to Eastern Island with Jacobsen and a German boy. The Captain showed me the grave; I dug up the body, keeping a weather eye on Jacobsen as I did so; pulled the corpse from the pit, scraped off the sand that stuck to it, and searched for a wound. It was a bullet hole—in the back of the head. No man can shoot himself from behind, Cameron. Jacobsen looked on indifferently. . . .'<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> E. Olsen, 'The Midway Tragedy,' *Mid-Pacific*, XV (January 1918), No. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Farrell, ed., *John Cameron's Odyssey* (New York, 1928), p. 256.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 256.

In spite of what had happened, however, Jorgenson says he went over to Eastern Island alone with Jacobsen to get birds' eggs, there being none left on Sand Island. There Jacobsen disappeared and the men on Sand Island accused Jorgenson of murdering him. Jacobsen's body was never found, but Jorgenson claimed he caught a shark some days after Jacobsen's disappearance and upon cutting it open he found a man's shoe 'with foot still inside. The boot, I knew, was Jacobsen's—some day I'll show you where the foot is buried.'<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, Captain Cameron to whom the story was told never did get to see the shoe.

In Olsen's account he says that Jacobsen, Jorgenson and Brown went over to Eastern Island and Jorgenson returned alone. The conclusion was that Jorgenson had done away with the two companions, but it appears no one of the remaining six felt sufficiently interested to investigate.<sup>20</sup> They did, however, decide to get away from Midway and Jorgenson as quickly as possible. They left post haste in a sampan they had been building, and after a twenty-day voyage of about 1500 miles they arrived at the Marshalls.

For six months 'crazy' Jorgenson lived on the island alone with the 'crazy' gooneys. He must not have felt too lonely in their company.

Deliverance arrived in January 1888 when the British bark *Wandering Minstrel*, F. D. Walker master, put into Welles harbor. But any joy Jorgenson must have felt was short lived, for *Wandering Minstrel* was wrecked by a storm and joined *General Siegel* at the bottom of the lagoon a short time later. Captain Walker had his wife and two sons on the voyage. John Cameron, mate of *Wandering Minstrel*, charges the captain with neglect and responsibility for the sinking of the craft. Whether it was the result of carelessness, ignorance, or an intentional act remains a question. Cameron maintains that it was the latter, but this seems hardly likely.<sup>21</sup>

After over a year of hardship and deprivation the *Wandering Minstrel's* band was rescued by the British bark *Norma* on 26 March 1889.<sup>22</sup>

Sufficient mystery surrounded the voyage and shipwreck of the *Wandering Minstrel* to stimulate the interest of Robert Louis Stevenson, who was in Honolulu when the shipwrecked party returned from Midway, and his novel *The Wrecker* grew out of this experience.<sup>23</sup>

In 1891 Captain Walker, formerly of *Wandering Minstrel*, returned to

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 264.

<sup>20</sup> Olsen, op. cit.

<sup>21</sup> Farrell, op. cit., 271.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne, *The Wrecker* (New York, 1891).

Midway bringing two scientists from the Rothschild Expedition. One of the members of this expedition, Mr. George C. Munro, now living in Honolulu, came to Midway in June 1945 and spent some time with the Commander of the Naval Operating Base. He was kind enough to lend me his diary covering the voyage in 1891, excerpts from which are quoted here because they throw additional light on the *Wandering Minstrel* shipwreck and the character of its captain and give us the earliest first hand description of the islands.

From the diary of Mr. George C. Munro kept during  
a trip to Midway on the schooner *Kaalokai*

*Saturday, July 11th, 1891*

Sighted Midway Island from the deck in the morning (being hove to most of the night) and getting a breeze, got inside the reef and anchored about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles off the beach of the Sand Island; the other, the wooded one, being about 5 miles off.

We landed and had a stroll 'round; the island is almost a mile long, low and sandy, with a few mounds about 12 feet high covered with large shrub at one end; at the other is a patch of grass (the same as on the French Frigates) with tern with young almost full fledged. It is a very desolate island with a great extent of low-lying sandy ground, which seems to be swept by heavy seas during heavy weather. This is the island where Captain Walker, with his wife and three sons, spent 14 weary months and looking at the island it seems a wonder how they existed at all. There is a small house about 29 feet square which made it a little more tolerable. It was originally built by an American Steamship Company and they (a trading company had the coal depot I believe) had a coal depot. A stack of coal is here still. The house was originally only about 12 x 12 feet but another crew wrecked here before Walker had built a few feet all 'round extending the roof and building the wall with heavy 4-inch planking. When we came on shore the roof and the beach was covered with ———. White tern had young 'side and tropic birds in under it. A lot of the old dried goonie meat was still hanging inside. The house is in a good state except for the door being blown down. Captain Walker left a record in a bottle when he was rescued which is here still and that with others carved and painted on the walls I copied down. Cut out on the inside wall is the account of a wreck before the *Wandering Minstrel*, Captain Walker's ship, and it is as follows:

'Arrived September 1886

W. Brown

Haw. Sch. *General Siegel*

Honolulu

1886 - 87

Lost at this island the night between

16 - 17 November 7 men in 1886 shore.

1 man died and buried in shore 7th October '86.'

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(On another place is painted)

'J. A. Jorgenson

Here from September 22, 1886, to January 9, 1888.

Here is plenty fresh water, one well at depths from  
3 to 4 feet—will keep water at any time.'

(Capt. Walker's note)

#### Midway Islands

'The British Barque *Wandering Minstrel* of Hongkong belonging to the "Shark Fishing Company, Limited" of the above port, F. D. Walker, Master, was wrecked here in a severe storm February 3rd, 1888. Scarcely anything was saved; a strong current setting to the Northward sweeping things to sea. Very few provisions were saved but all hands were landed safely. Also a man named Jorgenson who is reported to have murdered his Captain on the other island and from his character there is no doubt he did.

On the 15th of March the cook named Frank Lord with five other men ran away with a boat and are probably lost.

On the 13th of October the mate, John Cameron, Jorgenson, and a Chinese lad, left for Honolulu in a boat properly fitted up and provisioned for two months.

We have been very hard pressed for food in the months of June, July, August, September and October, but the rest of the year we subsisted entirely on eggs and birds. On the 16th of March 1889 the Schooner *Norma* of Yokohama, Charles Johnson, Master, arrived here, shark fishing, who gave us such food as he could spare which I must say saved the lives of two or three which were very ill of scurvy—everybody being more or less sick, as the eggs were finished and only goonie meat to eat—the sea being too rough to fish and the boat leaked.

'We intend to leave tomorrow for Honolulu, I having chartered the vessel for that purpose.

'March 25th 1889

F. D. Walker

Master

Late *Wandering Minstrel*"

(Then follow instructions about water birds, and fish which would be useful to any unfortunates wrecked here. Below this is another later record.)

'Capt. Walker and crew landed safely at Honolulu—one man died on the passage. The schooner *Norma* came back to this place on June 25th, 1889; the thing in this note is very useful no doubt, and if carried out you will always have something to eat.

'P.S. Please leave a note similar to this when you leave, or leave this one.

J. T. B. 2nd Mate, *Norma*

Yokohama

Japan"

The remains of the *General Siegel* a schooner not more than 50 tons, still lies on the sands and many large logs and old spars are scattered about on the level sand. The men of this vessel, I think, built a boat and left, leaving Jorgenson behind as he was suspected of killing the Captain.

John Cameron's boat arrived safely at Julute, Marshal Is.

Walker's men were a mixed crew, mostly Islanders; several died and their comrades buried them together, raising rude crosses at their heads with their names carved thereon and ornamenting the graves with large shells, coral and whales bones. I think about 30 of them were landed here altogether, but most of them removed to the other island where the birds were more plentiful. A few remained here and their kennels are still standing. There is no doubt that the Walker family had a very rough time of it here and the hardships undergone may in a measure account for the Captain's mean, lying disposition, both of which minister to the discomfort of our trip. The latter fault is very annoying as we can take no statement of his for a fact. They coolly told P [Palmer of the Rothschild Expedition] this evening that he was going to stop over two weeks here when P told him he would not stop that length of time and they had a bit of argument, both, however, keeping their tempers in control. The captain treats P as if he had no regular agreement at all with him. He is greatly disgusted that the *Norma* had returned here after leaving him and taken all that was of any use from the wreckage as the Captain had reckoned on finding everything as he had left it. One good thing, the well (lined with casks) was still intact though full of sand and was soon cleared out so we shall have plenty of water.

Strange to say, shortly after coming ashore, a sail was sighted to the Eastward which appeared to be a schooner bearing down on the island. There is a peculiar desolate feeling comes over me here. The island seems the most forbidding and weird that we have yet visited. Midway Island and its glories have been dinned into our ears since leaving Honolulu and perhaps we expected something extraordinary. I feel pity for the woman that had to spend so many weary months on this desolate spot.

The *Wandering Minstrel*, although a 'sharking vessel' was fitted up more like a gentleman's yacht than a trading craft.

The outer reef, some miles out, is several feet above water and the square cut blocks of coral rock present a peculiar appearance against the horizon.

The curlew are very tame, following behind us like a lot of chickens—coming within a few feet. They seem in frayed plumage but do not notice any young birds.

*Sunday, July 12th:*

Writing till late last night. There is something melancholy about this desolate place; the sigh of the wind 'round the house, the wail of the petrel, at any time melancholy, seems even more so, and looking out of the door over the extent of white sand broken only by a few green mounds and the little group of crosses in the cemetery, a feeling of depression comes over one, the smell of dry goonie meat and the thought that a woman had to exist there all that time and in such company all tend to the weirdness of the place.

I remarked to Captain Walker and his sons that I pitied the poor woman that had to live there. 'Yes,' said our [hero?] 'to see her face pinched with hunger, but we were all to be pitied—we were all the same,' and went on to tell of his own troubles. It seems very plain to me that it was Captain Walker's intention to beach the *Wandering Minstrel* but Fate did not favour his designs. He had every convenience to make them very comfortable if he had managed it as he evidently wished. We went aboard before breakfast; the sail sighted last night appeared on the South side of the island



and came in and anchored at a little distance. She proved to be the *Charles G. Wilson* of San Francisco. She is from Julute and has been two years out trading and fishing. Walker and P went aboard and the Captain returned the visit. His crew are small men from Stings Island (Carolina group)—not bad looking fellows and the officers and men give the Captain a very good name. He has a native girl from Stings Island with him. The vessel is his own property and his home. He is bound for San Francisco and came in here for water. Walker went ashore with the *Charles G. Wilson's* sailing boat. We all went aboard that vessel in the evening.

*Monday, July 13th:*

The boat of the other schooner was on shore after water before our officers were out of bed. Freddie and the Kanakas took us over to Brook's Island—a pull of about 5 miles across the lagoon—and we landed at some of the houses of the men of the *Wandering Minstrel*. They had very good grass houses built. This island lies on the Southeastern part of the reef with apparently one reef outside. It is over a mile long. Seems to me to be almost as long as Laysan. It is about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile wide and tapers towards the South; from where we are the two Islands appear as one. The other lies to the Westward.

This island is mostly covered with scrub with patches of coarse grass. The scrub is mostly a large leaved pithy plant of which we have seen a little on Laysan. The grass is different from the tussock of Laysan although I think I have seen it there. It is coarse and harder. There are a few of both goonies, the 4 tern, tropic birds very plentiful, small gannet, black gannet. I found a small rookery of the latter and got two eggs from the nest. The nest was built of grass on the ground. Hawks are not very common. Curlew abound on the beach. The little white tern have their eggs and young about the houses. Moths abound and we anticipate getting some specimens. Freddie released a pair of rail finches from Laysan. I don't know whether they will live without water or not. Small black petrel are very numerous here, resting under the grass, or sitting in pairs side by side in sheltered hollows.

*Tuesday, 14th:*

Skinning and collecting. In the evening whilst taking a walk along the beach we saw an old white goonie feeding a young black one. The goonies, both species, are nearly full fledged now, sitting in groups of a dozen or so along the water's edge. Saw one of the rails today. Came on a rookery of black gannet yesterday; about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a dozen of the young being nearly full grown. One nest built of grass on the ground had two eggs, which I secured. The scrub seems to grow in rows along the beach but inland it is very dense and tangled and difficult to traverse. Thorn burrs are also numerous, necessitating the wearing of shoes. P caught several fish about a foot long with hook and line from the beach. They were like Ulua only light colored and of two species. Mullet are numerous and the boat of the *Charles G. Wilson* came over to get some but they did not visit our camp. The little white tern are very numerous here. They are the pictures of innocence—look peculiar with one or two little fish across in their bills. Curlew are numerous and tame and in better condition than at Lisianisky. They have a peculiar fashion of gently kicking one foot when standing. We have pitched one tent on the beach to sleep in and skin in one of the old houses. Bruised the top of my head yesterday and was awakened last night by a little white crab gnawing at it.

*Thursday, 16th:*

Skinning. Have been on the lookout for black goonies, but can't get a specimen, although there are a good number of young on the beach. We have noticed hawks chase the tropic birds here; the latter are very numerous and we have secured a fine lot of feathers, some being very long. There is a good deal of variety in the color of the downy young; some being white, other light brown. The harsh note of these birds sounds over our heads all day. The birds we have seen here are the three gannet, frigate bird, tropic bird, 5 tern, 2 petrel, curlew, akikiki, and kolia and 2 albatross. The sooty tern are in their usual numbers with young pretty large. The greybreasted and little black petrel are laying. We got one specimen of the white breasted petrel—a young one. This island has been formed on the Southeastern corner of the reef which along that part is close inshore, getting further out towards the South and East; at the Eastern end the island is about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile across with the reef about that distance away. It has built up a good deal at that end, the Northern and Southwest corners are building pretty quickly, forming a crescent on the Northwestern side. The wash from the weather side builds the former and the latter by the meeting of the currents on either side of the island—is apparently building rapidly. There is a long sand spit off the island turning towards the Northwest and the reef is a good distance off to the S.W.—off the spit again separated by a channel is a small sand island. On the end of the spit, next the scrub, is a little lagoon with numbers of akikiki. The other island lies almost N. & S. and in a few years they will probably be one.

This island is the most green of any that we have seen, being almost all covered with bright green scrub. There are no hills of any kind—lies in shelves. I don't suppose it is over 20 feet high. The scrub growing on the ridge of each shelf thins towards the depression between and gives it the appearance of hedges along the shores. I picked up a piece of a greyish substance on the beach and don't know what it is, perhaps rotten gum, or gum of some kind like kaurie gum, is washed up on all these islands. There is only one entrance for vessels into this reef—that on the North. There are two or three other boat passages. We are to go back to the vessel tomorrow. A little white tern was here with several fish crosswise in its bill. How it catches the last seems a puzzle. Spiders are in good variety here. Have got two large moths. The skineating beetle is scarce but small blue blow flies are very numerous and very tame. We saw one of the rails today running about quite at home. The lagoon must be about 10 miles across at its widest.

*Friday, 17th:*

The boat came over early and the men breakfasted on the island. We did not leave, however, till afternoon, they being occupied killing fish with dynamite and us in making skeletons and other final preparations. We called at the sand island and they brought off some water, the water in the well is beautifully cold and clear. Crossing the lagoon we could see on the bottom a great quantity of a species of ———. We got two black goonies before leaving the island and skinned them on board.

At the end of the voyage Mr. Munro had this to say in summarizing his experience:

On the whole our trip has been rather an unpleasant one; the small size of the vessel, the dirty state in which she was kept. The mean, disagreeable, lying nature of the Captain and his sons and the steward not knowing his work. All did their part toward making it so. The vessel leaked rather badly. The side lights would not act. In fact it appeared very much as if the Company did not care very much if she never came back as they had about \$700 from Palmer and the insurance policy in their hands. The speed was seldom over 4 knots and oftener less as the Captain had a habit of reefing her if the wind freshened. She would sail very close on the wind, but had not sail to make speed.

Captain Walker, by hurrying past Bird Island and Necker Island for fear if he stayed P would insist on trying to land, lost a good chance of getting shark, as passing both places sharks were following the vessel. He was in such a great hurry to get to Midway and when he got there he got nothing. On one occasion at the rock at French Frigates he very nearly sent the schooner on the rock. In fact had we not met with fine weather throughout it is very doubtful if we would ever have returned. As a fishing expedition it was a failure. We were fairly successful regarding birds for the amount of time we were enabled to work; but we might have done as much in about half the time by going to Laysan by the schooner *Mary Foste*.

The Pacific Mail Line apparently gave up the plan to use Midway for a coaling station, and it might have remained as a dainty and exceedingly 'white elephant' on our hands had it not been for interest developing about this time in a trans-Pacific cable. The proposal was first considered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in April 1896.<sup>24</sup>

A number of companies had been formed and they vied with each other for a cable franchise.<sup>25</sup> The crux of the matter was that they did not want to build by way of Midway, but rather through some point in the Marshalls, then German territory.<sup>26</sup> From a cable standpoint the Marshalls were preferable because they were already inhabited and had port and harbor facilities. The government, however, insisted that the cable must be an 'all-American' cable.<sup>27</sup> Finally the Pacific Commercial Cable Company was organized to carry out the government's wishes to lay the cable from Honolulu to Luzon via Midway.<sup>28</sup>

A survey party, sent out in the U. S. S. *Iroquois* in 1900 to make soundings for the cable, reported finding Japanese poachers there killing the birds for their feathers and the United States government, fearing that

<sup>24</sup> Leff, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> Leff, op. cit., pp. 15-16, citing Senate Reports, 54th Congress, 1st Session, No. 194, pp. 8-9.

<sup>26</sup> Leff, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> House of Representatives, 58th Congress, 1st Session, Document No. 9, pp. 1-2.

<sup>28</sup> The last visit to Midway before the arrival of the cable company was in August 1902, by a party of ornithologists from Honolulu interested in Midway's bird life. A paper published by Mr. William Alanson Bryan of this group in *Occasional Papers of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History*, II (1906), No. 4, 291-299, gives a very complete account of birds found on Midway at that time. Mr. Bryan also reported finding evidence of the slaughter of birds by the Japanese poachers.

Japan might through colonization subsequently claim possession, forwarded a strong note of protest emphasizing that this colonization 'could not be regarded by this Government as affording any basis for a claim to the islands by the Japanese Government.'<sup>29</sup>

So many complaints had been made regarding Japanese squatters on the islands that on 20 January 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt placed Midway under the control of the Navy Department. His Executive Order<sup>30</sup> issued that date is as follows:

Such public lands as may exist on the Midway Islands, Hawaiian group, between the parallels of 28° 05' and 28° 25' North Latitude and between the meridians of 177° 10' and 177° 30' West Longitude, are hereby placed under the jurisdiction and control of the Navy Department.

Theodore Roosevelt

The first contingent of the cable company arrived on 29 April 1903 in the steamship *Hanalei*. They found the Japanese schooner *Yeiju Maru* anchored in the lagoon, and its crew ashore killing birds. They were warned to cease killing birds and to bury those killed.<sup>31</sup>

Temporary structures and tents were rapidly thrown up. On 3 June the U. S. S. *Iroquois*, Lieutenant Commander Hugh Rodman, Commanding Officer, arrived. Rodman ordered the Japanese to leave the islands and appointed the Cable Station Superintendent, Mr. B. W. Colley, as naval custodian of the islands emphasizing especially that he would prevent 'the wanton destruction of birds that breed at Midway, and not let them be disturbed or killed except for the purposes of food supply.'<sup>32</sup> Mr. Colley was also appointed a Justice of the Peace by Lieutenant Commander Rodman.<sup>33</sup>

The cable company not only faced serious hazards in 'taming' the islands, but also had continually to cope with supply problems. Supplies were long on the way and the unloading was difficult and dangerous. *Julia E. Whalen*, chartered at Honolulu to carry provisions for the staff, was wrecked at Midway on 22 October 1903, with a total loss of supplies.<sup>34</sup> Had it not been for the coöperation of the Navy Department in sending *Iroquois* with food and supplies, the men on Midway would have been in

<sup>29</sup> Leff, op. cit., p. 15, quoting from John Bassett Moore, *A Digest of International Law* (Washington, 1906), I, 555.

<sup>30</sup> Original filed at Cable Office, Honolulu.

<sup>31</sup> Commercial Pacific Cable Company Diary, 29 April 1903.

<sup>32</sup> Letter #397, Department of the Navy, U. S. Naval Station, Honolulu, 20 April 1903, from Lieutenant Commander H. Rodman, U. S. N.

<sup>33</sup> Letter *Iroquois* to Benjamin Colley, Supt. Commercial Pacific Cable Company, 15 June 1903, from Lieutenant Commander H. Rodman, U. S. N.

<sup>34</sup> Commercial Pacific Cable Company Diary, 22 October 1903.



a serious plight. The company asked the government to assist them and requested specifically that the following be accomplished.<sup>35</sup>

1. An appropriation for blasting the coral reefs so as to provide an entrance to the existing lagoon and the improvement of the lagoon so as to make it a suitable harbor.
2. The establishment of buoys and a lighthouse to mark the entrance to the harbor and as a guide to vessels.
3. The construction of landing facilities.
4. The establishment of Marines or guards of some character to maintain order and enforce the laws on the islands.

The Navy Department did eventually erect buoys and simple channel markers and a garrison force of twenty Marines under Lieutenant Owen was sent out in May 1904. A lighthouse was erected but the cable company had to build its own dock.

The cable was completed on 4 July 1903, and the first message sent around the world by President Theodore Roosevelt. The note in the Midway diary says that 'it went thro' without a hitch.'<sup>36</sup>

By May 1904, the Midway colony consisted of approximately one hundred people made up of contractors' employees, Marines and cable station people. There were about thirty employees of the cable station consisting of six or seven American technicians, Japanese and Chinese cooks, gardeners, and day laborers. Eventually the cable station employees became the sole residents of the islands.

The contractors building the cable quarters and offices were Milliken Brothers of New York. Their local representative had trouble with the Japanese laborers and had to call upon the Marines to arbitrate; otherwise, the Marine force seems to have had very little to do. Naturally, frequent problems arose between the various units in the growing community, and the Cable Superintendent conscientiously kept his superiors informed of each incident. Apparently some criticism of the life on Midway crept into Honolulu papers and this came to the attention of New York. The New York office requested an explanation from the local superintendent and he replied as follows:

I think there was some gambling but I do not know who were the principal players. Except that none of our staff men were mixed up in it. There were one or two regular 'Westerners' amongst the mechanics, men who have been most everything, gold-miners, stock-raisers, and what not, I was told that they were well acquainted with

<sup>35</sup> House of Representatives, 58th Congress, 1st Session, Document No. 9, letter of Mr. George C. Ward, Vice President and General Manager of Commercial Pacific Cable Company, to the Secretary of the Navy, Hon. William H. Moody.

<sup>36</sup> Commercial Pacific Cable Company Diary, 4 July 1903.

the difference between a straight flush and four aces but I never mentioned the subject to them or they to me. My intercourse with all the Contractors' people has been friendly.—Regarding the marines I have tried as far as possible to carry out your instructions. There has been a little coolness at times between some of our people—such things are bound to happen in a small community.<sup>37</sup>

The tremendous job of making the islands habitable—planting grass and ironwood trees to cut down terrific sand storms and the blinding sun glare—having it all destroyed time and again by violent storms—was carried out with dogged determination. An entry in the diary dated 18 July 1905 reveals what they had to face countless times:

Heaviest gale so far experienced. Monday, 17th, blowing hard from N.E.—sand drifting gradually increased during night. Tuesday (18th) blowing and raining very hard. Estimated at least 70 miles per hour, wind gauge gave out at that point. Bar. kept dropping till about 5:30 p.m. when it reached 29.06 and began to rise, wind veered N.E. (east about) to S. soon as got due South bar. began to rise and weather moderated. By midnight only blowing ordinary gale. Water first covered all low part of the island to N & E of dunes. When wind veered into S.E. water backed up in lagoon and began to cover all S.S.E. part and coming thro' low land to South of station ran like a brook into western plain (at one time nearly all the green was covered). Water also reached round to S.W. of lookout on Observation Hill but did not quite cut thro' to other side. All Marine camps demolished—they took shelter with us.

Tons of soil were imported from Honolulu in order that a garden might be developed, and chickens, ducks, turkeys, and cattle were imported. Eventually the products from the 'farm' helped in a large way to solve the food problem of the colony of about thirty people.

Naval vessels visited Midway Islands intermittently during the years from 1903 to 1930. The U. S. S. *Iroquois* assisted the cable people by bringing in supplies and supplementing the work of the regular cable supply ship *Flaurence E. Ward*. When the Marines left in 1908 the company's ship took over entirely. That vessel and its skipper, Captain Piltz, are famous in Midway's history, for they passed back and forth between Honolulu and Midway nearly every month. Sometimes bad weather would hold the supply ship up as much as a month, and once the return trip to Pearl Harbor took twenty-four days.<sup>38</sup>

The first flight of a naval plane around Midway was made in October 1920, and the following year it was decided to use Midway as a rendezvous for fueling naval vessels. The Washington Naval Treaty of 1921 forbade our establishing naval bases or fortifying Wake, Midway and

<sup>37</sup> Commercial Pacific Cable Company Monthly Reports, January 1905.

<sup>38</sup> Commercial Pacific Cable Company Diary, 4 July 1903.

Guam, although the treaty was interpreted to permit establishment of commercial bases which might be put to naval use in emergencies. The treaty was regarded by many as unfavorable for the United States, nor were the Japanese satisfied at the 5-5-3 ratio, of which they were on the short end. Subsequently in 1934 Japan denounced the treaty, thus permitting the United States to fortify Midway and the other Pacific Islands on its expiration.

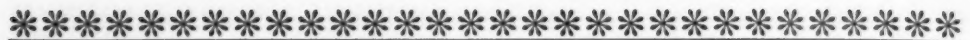
Interest in world airways was strong in the 1930's, and in March 1935 Pan American Airways announced plans to open a route between San Francisco and the Philippines with Midway as one of the stations on the route. The Navy granted Pan American permission to use Midway, although earlier they had regarded the plan as impossible.<sup>39</sup>

Plans for the commercial air base at Midway matured rapidly and the Pan American expedition ship *North Haven* arrived at the islands on 12 April 1935. They were royally welcomed by the cable station employees and everyone helped to land supplies which consisted of everything from refrigerators to tractors and complete facilities for maintaining an airport.

It was not long before regular weekly trips bringing visitors from the Orient and the States were making Midway widely known throughout the Pacific. It was no longer the remote coral atoll, but a little oasis in the Pacific, breaking the monotony of the long flights.

In May 1935, the Navy held fleet maneuvers around Midway, and in 1940 construction began upon a Naval Air Station. The United States Marines, absent since 1908, returned in June 1940, and by February 1941 a garrison force of 850 was in residence. The Naval Air Station was commissioned on 1 August 1941. The subsequent history of the islands, and particularly the decisive naval action of June 1942, have forever removed Midway Islands from the category of an unknown coral atoll at 'the end of the world.'

<sup>39</sup> Leff, op. cit., p. 17.



## *Ships That Tested The Blockade of the Carolina Ports, 1861-1865*

BY MARCUS W. PRICE

THE efficacy of the blockade of the Carolina ports was thoroughly tested. From the dates of its proclamation<sup>1</sup> until the evacuation of Charleston on the night of 17-18 February 1865 no less than 2,054 attempts were made to penetrate the lines of the blockading squadrons—a daily average of 1.5 runs.<sup>2</sup>

In the early months of the war, the selection of ships to engage in 'the business,' as it was commonly called, constituted no problem. There was little choice. The Carolinians, never a maritime people, had to use whatever vessels were available until they could purchase more suitable ships abroad.

During 1861, not less than twenty-one steamers and two hundred and fifty-three sailing vessels were engaged in attempting to violate the Yankee blockade of the Carolina coast. Most of the Confederate steamers were walking-beam boats that had been operating as packets out of Southern ports prior to the imposition of the blockade. The sailing vessels included such schooners, brigs, brigantines, ships, barks, sloops, and yachts as could be had for the business. Among them was the brig *Echo*, a former slaver, purified by a rechristening to *Jefferson Davis*.

While, of course, speed was desirable, the principal requirements for blockade running vessels in 1861 were light draft, the ability to stay afloat in the open sea until the port of destination was reached, and a sufficient cargo-carrying capacity to make the run pecuniarily worth-while.<sup>3</sup> Light draft was particularly important. An officer of the U. S. S. *Vandalia*, which was lying off Charleston in the summer of 1861, wrote:

<sup>1</sup> President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the South Carolina ports on 19 April 1861, and of the North Carolina ports on 27 April 1861. *U. S. Stat. at Large*, XII, 1258-1259.

<sup>2</sup> In the parlance of the day, a 'run' was a single trip in or out of a blockaded port.

<sup>3</sup> Carolina blockade runners usually ran to Nassau, New Providence, or St. George's, Bermuda. Nassau was approximately 500 miles from Charleston, and about 60 miles farther from Wilmington. St. George's, Bermuda, was 674 miles from Wilmington.



... We could not see a single vessel going in or out. . . . We have but little doubt that these vessels elude our vigilance at night as the nature of the coast precludes the possibility of our anchoring within at least four miles of the shore—hence a vessel of a few hundred tons . . . can easily escape us by hugging the shore until out of our sight. . . .<sup>4</sup>

One of the most successful steamers engaged in the business during the early months of the war was *Theodora*, a side-wheeler of 578 tons with walking-beam. Unpleasantly known to the men of the blockading squadrons as the 'Black Witch,' this vessel was a continuing source of embarrassment to the United States Navy until she was captured on 28 May 1862 while trying to slip into Wilmington, North Carolina.

Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, *Theodora* had been the packet *Gordon*, and had plied between Charleston and Fernandina, Florida. When war was declared, she was purchased by a group of private persons, armed with two 18-pounders, one 24-pounder, muskets, pistols and cutlasses for fifty men, and commissioned as a privateer.

Manned by a crew of adventurers, *Gordon* preyed on Yankee commerce off the Carolina coast. While her complete record as a privateer is not known, it has been established that, in a period of less than two weeks, she captured three schooners and a brig and brought them safely into port.

Later the Confederate government bought *Gordon* for \$60,000 and put her to running the blockade under the name *Theodora*. Her exploits in this rôle were widely heralded in contemporary Confederate newspapers. Among them was the safe delivery at Cardenas, Cuba, of the Confederate Commissioners, James M. Mason and John Slidell, who were en route to England.

In April 1862 *Theodora* was sold at cost to John Fraser and Company, of Charleston, with the stipulation that she would be resold to the government when her services were required.<sup>5</sup>

After running for some months as *Theodora*, this vessel's name was changed to *Nassau*. The changing of ships' names in order to confuse the enemy was a common practice.

*Theodora* is known to have made seventeen successful runs before her capture. Her master on most, if not all, of these runs was Thomas J. Lock-

<sup>4</sup> *The Charleston Daily Courier*, 16 September 1861, reprint from the *Philadelphia Ledger*.

<sup>5</sup> John Fraser and Company, a partnership formed in Charleston, probably was the leading blockade running concern in the Confederacy. It served throughout the war as a commercial agent for the Confederate government, and, through its Liverpool subsidiary, Fraser, Trenholm and Company, furnished invaluable aid to the Confederate cause. Its senior partner, George A. Trenholm, withdrew from the firm when he succeeded C. G. Memminger as Confederate Secretary of the Treasury.

wood, of South Carolina, one of the most skilful and daring skippers engaged in the business. Before the war, Lockwood had been the pilot of the United States mail steamer *Isabel*.

*Theodora* normally carried a crew of twenty-eight men. Her cotton-capacity was only 250 bales when fully laden. In order not to impede her speed, she usually took between 125 and 150 bales.

The side-wheel steamer *Cecile* was another pre-war packet that was converted into a blockade runner. She was built at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1857. She was of 360-19/95 tons burden and had twenty-seven state-rooms with two berths to each and other permanent or movable berths to accommodate one hundred and fifty deck or other passengers. Her length was 156 feet, 6 inches, her breadth was 29 feet and her depth was 8 feet, 6 inches. *Cecile* had an iron hull and a round stern. She had neither galleries nor figure-head. One low-pressure boiler 22 feet long and 10 feet in diameter furnished her motive power.<sup>6</sup>

The custom records of the port of Charleston show that the largest number of bales of cotton *Cecile* ever carried out of that port on a single voyage during her career as a blockade runner was three hundred and thirty-six.

When she first entered the business, *Cecile* was owned by her master, Ferdinand ('Fenn') Peck, and John Fraser and Company.

After making a number of successful runs, she was sold in April 1862 to W. C. Bee and C. T. Mitchell, of Charleston, as trustees for a group of private persons who later obtained a corporate charter from the State of South Carolina for their speculative enterprise under the name, The Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina.

Peck and the Fraser Company sold *Cecile* because, in their opinion, she had become entirely too slow for the business.<sup>7</sup>

Slow though she was, *Cecile* made a number of highly profitable penetrations of the blockading squadron off Charleston before she went down at sea on the night of 18 June 1862. While en route from Nassau to Charleston her bottom was ripped open by a sunken rock off Abaco reef.

*Cecile's* cargo on her last run included a complete battery of eight cannon, ammunition wagons, harness, 2,000 rifles, knapsacks, 400 barrels of powder for the Confederate Navy, 100 kegs of powder on the ship's account, and a large quantity of medicines. Practically all was lost, in spite

<sup>6</sup> C. S. A. Certificate of inspection of hulls and boilers steamer *Cecile*, issued at Charleston, S. C., 28 October 1861. The references to manuscript sources, which are in The National Archives, Washington, D. C., unless otherwise noted, are described more fully at the end of this article.

<sup>7</sup> Letter, John Fraser and Company to Confederate Secretary of War, G. W. Randolph, dated 5 April 1862.

of the best efforts of wreckers who were rushed from Nassau to the scene.

Before she went down off Abaco, *Cecile* had completed twenty-five runs. Her success is explained by the fact that her only two masters during her career as a runner were Ferdinand Peck and James Carlin. Prior to the war, when *Cecile* was a Charleston-Fernandina packet, Peck had been her skipper. Carlin had seen long service in the United States Coast Survey. Both men, therefore, knew all the deeps and shallows of the Carolina coast, and both were among the most sagacious masters in the business.

The brig *Robert Bruce*, of Bristol, England, was typical of many of the sailing ships that tested the blockade. She ran into and out of Wilmington in September 1861, but was captured on 22 October 1862 by the United States Gunboat *Penobscot* while making a second attempt to enter that port. She was flying English colors when taken.

*Robert Bruce* was built in 1854. Her certificate of British registry, issued at Bristol on 7 February 1856, gives her official number as 25842 and furnishes the following description of the vessel:

Carvel build—no galleries—man bust-head—framework wood—length 101 feet 5 tenths—main breadth to outside plank 22 feet 7 tenths—depth in hold from tonnage deck to ceiling at midships 13 feet 3.5 tenths—built by Richard Burke, Prince Edward Island—tonnage under tonnage deck 177.73—total register tonnage 181.94.

The crew of *Robert Bruce* at the time of her capture consisted of nine men, all British subjects, including her master, William Muir.<sup>8</sup>

The British *Mercantile List*, 1868, shows that *Robert Bruce* then was owned by Patrick Slaney, of Belfast.<sup>9</sup> *Lloyd's Register* for the same year lists her without showing her owner.<sup>9</sup> Apparently, she never attempted to run the blockade after her condemnation and sale under the decree of the prize court.

During the second year of the war there began a shift from sail to steam that was to continue at a steadily increasing rate until blockade running ceased.

The two hundred and fifty-three different sailing vessels known to have run the blockade of the Carolina ports in 1861 dropped to one hundred and forty-five in 1862, fifty-five in 1863, and fourteen in 1864. Between 1 January and the evacuation of Charleston on 17-18 February 1865 there were only five in the business.

<sup>8</sup> 'The Matter of the brig *Robert Bruce* and her cargo, taken as a prize,' District Court of U. S. for So. District of New York.

<sup>9</sup> Captain Grahame E. Farr, Notes on Bristol-built blockade runners, furnished the author in 1947. The picture of *Robert Bruce* reproduced on Plate 19, donated by Captain Farr, was made from an oil painting of the vessel, dated 1858, that hangs in the City Art Gallery, of Bristol, England.

On the other hand, the number of steamers in service as blockade runners rose steadily from twenty-one in 1861 to forty-five in 1862, seventy-three in 1863, and ninety-eight in 1864. Twenty-four ran in January and February 1865.<sup>10</sup>

The impelling reasons for this shift from sail to steam were accurately stated in a report submitted to United States Secretary of State Robert Lansing on 4 March 1916 by the Joint State and Navy Neutrality Board.<sup>11</sup>

In the early days of the war, according to the report, the United States Navy had comparatively few ships to maintain the blockade and the officers of the Navy were unfamiliar with blockade duty. As time passed, however, more ships were made available by the Navy Department and the blockade became stricter.

'As the character of the blockade changed,' the Board reported, 'so did the character of the vessels used to run the blockade.' The speed and light draft of the additions to the blockading squadrons, it stated, made it essential that persons interested in running the blockade purchase ships especially designed to run. These new types of runners according to the Board 'were light-draft and, for the time, high-speed vessels.'

Since the Carolinians had no adequate local source of supply, they turned to Great Britain for the steamers they required. The great demand for British steamers began in 1862<sup>12</sup> and continued until the fall of Wilmington and Charleston deprived the blockade runners of the only two remaining ports of entry on the Carolina coast.

The United States Consul at Liverpool reported to United States Secretary of State Seward, in November 1862, that there was great activity among the secessionists in England, who were buying all the fast light-draft steamers they could lay their hands upon.<sup>13</sup>

The *Liverpool Journal of Commerce* printed an item copied from the *Glasgow Scotsman* to the effect that from the beginning of the war until the end of 1863 upwards of sixty steamers, whose purchase price was estimated at approximately £700,000, had sailed from the Clyde alone to run the

<sup>10</sup> Most of the steamers engaged in blockade running were equipped with sails which they used whenever it was deemed safe to do so in order to conserve their supply of coal.

<sup>11</sup> This exceedingly interesting and informative report titled: *Blockade of the Southern Coasts and Ports Established by the United States During the Civil War* (Serial No. 130), was submitted by request. Lansing had written Dr. James Brown Scott, Chairman of the Board, on 27 January 1916: 'In view of the press reports that the British Government is considering establishing a blockade such as that imposed by the Union Navy upon the Confederate coasts,' he would be pleased if the Board would render a brief report 'upon the exact character of the Southern blockade in the Civil War, with special reference to the positions of the blockading squadrons in relation to neutral coasts and islands, and the extent to which the squadrons stopped and searched the vessels bound for neutral ports.'

<sup>12</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 28 March 1863.

<sup>13</sup> Despatch No. 160, dated 14 November 1862.



blockade. Many of these steamers had been sold for half as much again as their original cost. In 1861 and 1862, according to this article, a total of thirty steamers had left the Clyde. Of these, six were paddle vessels that previously had been in the river trade; five were paddle boats and six were screw steamers that had been in the deep-sea trade, and the others were new steamers. In 1863, the article stated, twenty-eight steamers sailed from the Clyde, of which eleven were river paddle boats, one a paddle and one a screw taken from the deep-sea trade. Seven of the remaining steamers were new paddle boats and the other eight were new screw vessels.<sup>14</sup>

C. A. L. Lamar, who had been sent to England to purchase steamers for a Georgia blockade running company, reported in October 1863 that the demand for suitable boats at that time was so great

they literally command two prices. Boats contracted for 4 months ago and now being furnished at a cost of £13,000 are selling like hot cakes at from £20,000 to £25,000. Such boats as I wanted, viz., 230 feet long, 27 feet beam, 11 feet hold, with 250 horsepower, and guaranteed to steam not less than 17 miles, are worth from £28,000 to £30,000.<sup>15</sup>

Fifty-three Clyde-built ships are known to have entered the business in 1864.<sup>16</sup>

Many additional steamers were purchased in Liverpool, Bristol, London, and other British and European ports and put into the trade.

The demand for steamers to run the blockade was by no means limited to the requirements of the Confederate government and the privately owned and operated blockade running companies in the South. By 1862, the British people had become convinced that the blockade was ineffective, and seeing an opportunity to turn a pretty penny with little risk, enthusiastically entered into the business on their own account. The United States Consul at Liverpool reported to United States Secretary of State Seward<sup>17</sup> that no class of English society was exempt. 'Members of Parliament, mayors, magistrates, aldermen, merchants, and gentlemen are all daily violating the law of nations,' he wrote. 'Nine-tenths of all vessels now engaged in the business were built and fitted out in England by Englishmen and with English capital, and are now owned by Englishmen.'<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, 18 January 1864.

<sup>15</sup> Letter C. A. L. Lamar to G. B. Lamar, dated London, 18 October 1863.

<sup>16</sup> *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, 19 January 1865.

<sup>17</sup> Despatch No. 401, dated 14 December 1864.

<sup>18</sup> This figure includes the large ships under the English flag that plied between England and such entrepôts as St. George's, Bermuda, and Nassau, New Providence, as well as the smaller vessels that ran between those places and the Confederate ports.

Very few steamers specially built to run the blockade were put into that service before 1864. Many of the British-built vessels purchased in 1862 and 1863 proved wholly unsatisfactory.

Thomas E. Taylor, who sailed from England for the blockaded Carolina ports in 1862 as supercargo of *Despatch*, describes this steamer as a second-hand Irish cattle-boat with boilers nearly worn out and engines sadly neglected. 'Anything was thought good enough for a blockade runner then,' he wrote.<sup>19</sup>

W. C. Bee, president of The Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina, was equally critical of British-built ships, and of their masters. Writing to Confederate Secretary of the Treasury C. G. Memminger in February 1864,<sup>20</sup> he reported that a number of steamers were in progress of construction in England. They were being built, he said, purely on speculation and in anticipation of realizing handsome profits. 'An officer of one of our ships was here yesterday,' Bee wrote. 'He had seen several of them and pronounces them wholly unseaworthy. Again, if managed by Englishmen, who have so little at stake, they will readily yield their vessels as prizes sooner than incur personal hazards in an attempt to escape from the enemy. I have no faith in English sympathizers and would not have one of them in our employ.' Commenting on the loss of the steamer *Presto*, Bee declared: 'She was one of those English ships which run four times their own length before they will obey their helm, and hence the accident.' Bee added that one of his engineers was a passenger on board *Presto* when she struck the wreck of *Minho* off Charleston and went down. 'The wreck of the *Minho* was distinctly seen,' he declared, 'and the helm was put down hard. A properly constructed ship would have run clear, while she went directly upon the wreck,' and, 'being very slightly built,' was lost.

Among the British-built steamers purchased in 1862 that proved their worth by their performance was *Giraffe*, an iron, side-wheel steamer of 360.39 tons built on the Clyde. *Giraffe* formerly had run as a packet between Glasgow and Belfast, was sturdily constructed, and was reputed to possess great speed. Captain Wilkinson, of the Confederate States Navy, who purchased her for the government and who commanded her during nearly all of her career, stated, however, that her speed while he was her master never exceeded 13½ knots.<sup>21</sup>

*Giraffe's* length was 279 feet, her beam was 25 feet, and the depth of her

<sup>19</sup> Thomas E. Taylor, *Running the Blockade* (London, 1896), pp. 16, 18.

<sup>20</sup> Letter W. C. Bee to C. G. Memminger, Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, dated 4 February 1864.

<sup>21</sup> J. Wilkinson, *The Narrative of a Blockade Runner* (New York, 1877), pp. 104-106.

hold was 13 feet, 8 inches. She had a single deck, two pipes, and two masts. Her pipes and masts were very raking. Her draft, light, was 7 feet forward and 8 feet aft. She had two oscillating engines with 65-inch cylinders and 6-foot stroke, built by James and George Thompson in 1863.<sup>22</sup> She had Morgan's patent wheels and six horizontal tubular boilers, three forward and three aft the engines, with two furnaces and 158 three-inch tubes in each boiler.

Stripped of her saloon and passenger cabins, schooner-rigged and painted a light lead color, *Giraffe* entered Wilmington under the British flag on 29 December 1862, having made the run from Nassau in about four days. Upon her arrival, she was officially transferred to the Confederate government and thereafter sailed under the Confederate flag as *R. E. Lee*.<sup>23</sup>

The career of *R. E. Lee* was spectacular. Under Wilkinson's command, she made twenty-one successful runs in and out of Wilmington, carrying on her outward trips between 6,000 and 7,000 bales of cotton worth about \$2,000,000 in gold.<sup>24</sup> After one more run out of that port under her new master, William Wilson, she was captured on 9 November 1863 by the United States Steamer *James Adger*, while trying to re-enter Wilmington. Her cargo included 214 cases and bales of shoes and blankets, 150 cases of Austrian rifles, 250 bags of saltpetre, 61 barrels of provisions, 30 pigs of lead, and several tons of miscellaneous items.

At the time of her capture, *R. E. Lee*'s crew consisted of sixty-two men. Among the fourteen passengers found on board were the Belgian Consul at Charleston and two lieutenants in the British Royal Artillery.<sup>24</sup>

After her condemnation as a prize, *R. E. Lee* was acquired by the United States Navy, converted into an armed blockading steamer, and named *Fort Donelson*.<sup>25</sup>

The record of *Herald*, another British steamer that entered the trade in 1862, was even better than that of *R. E. Lee*. Between 3 July 1862 when she first steamed into Charleston under the British flag bringing 1,280 stand of arms, and 20 December 1863 when she went down off Frying Pan Shoals, *Herald* made twenty-four successful runs.

<sup>22</sup> *Commandant's Letters*, Navy Yard, Boston, January-June 1864, 19. Report on *R. E. Lee*, made by inspectors to Rear-Admiral S. H. Stringham, Commandant of the Yard, dated 6 January 1864. It will be noted that new engines appear to have been installed in *R. E. Lee* after her entry into the business.

<sup>23</sup> Wilkinson, op. cit., 125, 134, 135, 175.

<sup>24</sup> *North Atlantic Blockading Squadron*, 1863, XIV, 113-117: Reports of Commander of U. S. Steamer *James Adger* and of Acting Rear Admiral S. P. Lee to U. S. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, respectively, dated 9 November and 12 November 1863.

<sup>25</sup> *Commandant's Letters*, Navy Yard, Boston, January-June 1864, 105.

At the time of her purchase by John Fraser and Company, *Herald* was a liner on the Dublin-Glasgow run. She was a paddle steamer, fore and aft schooner-rigged, with a flush deck, a single stack and a copper steam funnel. Her draft, fore and aft, when loaded, was 12 feet.<sup>26</sup>

All available records of the ports of Charleston and Wilmington give *Herald's* tonnage as 563.

Her first master was Louis M. Coxetter, formerly of the United States Navy, considered by his adversaries as the most skilful master engaged in blockade running. Coxetter was to lose his life by drowning when attempting to escape from a runner under his command that was about to be taken.

The able Robert M. Thayer succeeded Coxetter as master of *Herald* and was in command of her when she was lost at sea.

*Herald* was sold by John Fraser and Company to The Chicora Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina, a Charleston concern, in November 1862 and, thereafter, sailed under the Confederate flag as *Antonica*.

*Herald (Antonica)* ordinarily carried a crew of thirty-six. Her cotton-capacity was about 775 bales.

Another British-built steamer that made a splendid record as a blockade runner was *Douglas*. She was bought by John Fraser and Company from the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company in November 1862.

*Douglas* was a paddle steamer of great engine power and, while plying between the Mersey and the Isle of Man with the mails, was distinguished for her speed and sea-going qualities.<sup>27</sup>

Available records of the ports of Charleston and Wilmington show that her tonnage was 732, and that her crew usually numbered forty-six.

*Douglas* first entered Charleston on or about 3 February 1863. After making several successful runs into and out of that port, her name was changed to *Margaret and Jessie* and she was sold to The Charleston Importing and Exporting Company.

At the time *Douglas* was purchased by John Fraser and Company there was doubt as to whether her cotton-capacity was adequate. This doubt proved to be groundless. On one of her runs she carried 962 bales, piled four high on her deck.<sup>27</sup> A copy of a report and manifest for one of her trips out of Charleston shows that she carried 796 bales of upland and 40

<sup>26</sup> Despatch, U. S. Consul at Liverpool to U. S. Secretary of State Seward, dated 12 February 1862. Letter, John B. Lafitte, Nassau representative of John Fraser and Company, to Confederate Secretary of War Randolph, dated 20 June 1862.

<sup>27</sup> *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, 21 November 1862.



bales of sea island cotton. The value of *Douglas'* cargo on this run was given as \$173,345.26.

After having made eighteen successful trips through the blockading squadrons, *Margaret and Jessie* was captured on 5 November 1863 while trying to enter Wilmington.<sup>28</sup>

The colorful career of *Margaret and Jessie* was not ended by her capture. After her condemnation as a prize, she was acquired by the United States Navy, armed, christened *Gettysburg*, and sent to the Carolina coast to catch her former friends, the blockade runners. She served in this capacity for the remainder of the war.<sup>29</sup>

*Gettysburg's* first prize was the steamer, *Little Ada*, bound from Nassau to Charleston.<sup>29</sup> Her second was the steamer *Lillian*, out of Wilmington for Bermuda with cotton.<sup>29</sup>

On 4 December 1864, *Gettysburg* participated with the United States Steamers *R. R. Cuyler* and *Mackinaw* in what was to prove to be her last successful chase. The pursued was the new steamer, *Armstrong*, bound from Wilmington to Nassau with about six hundred bales of cotton.<sup>29</sup>

In these three chases, *Gettysburg's* speed never exceeded 15 knots.<sup>29</sup> Her log shows that her maximum speed during her entire career was 15½ knots.

*Banshee*,<sup>30</sup> a little paddle steamer of 325 tons gross, 217 tons net, held the double distinction of being the first steamer specially built to run the blockade, and the first steel steamer to cross the Atlantic.

*Banshee*<sup>31</sup> was built on the Mersey by Jones, Quiggin and Company and originally was registered in the name of a Liverpool merchant. She was 214 feet long, 20 feet in breadth, and 8 feet in depth. Her hull was divided into four water-tight compartments. Her bottom was almost flat. Her two pole masts, placed well forward and aft, were raking and were without yards. They had the least possible rigging. *Banshee's* two smokestacks were in line between her masts, and likewise, were raking. Her hull was an iron frame covered with steel plates. According to the United States Consul at Liverpool, these plates were one-third of an inch thick; however, Tom Taylor, who sailed in her, wrote that some of them were one-eighth

<sup>28</sup> Logs of U. S. Steamers *Nansemond*, *Keystone State*, and *Howquah*, and of U. S. Transport *Fulton* for 5 November 1863.

<sup>29</sup> Log of the U. S. Steamer *Gettysburg*, 2 May 1864—25 April 1865.

<sup>30</sup> The first of two steamers of that name to participate in blockade running.

<sup>31</sup> The description of *Banshee* was obtained from the following sources:

U. S. Consul at Nassau, N. P. to U. S. Secretary of State Seward, despatch dated 19 April 1863;  
U. S. Consul at Liverpool to U. S. Secretary of State Seward, despatch dated 28 November 1863;  
Taylor, *Running the Blockade*, pp. 33-35, 40, 47, 84.

and the remainder three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness. Her deck plates leaked like a sieve, he reported. *Banshee* had a turtle-back deck forward to help her speed. Her engines were oscillating and of 120 horsepower. She was long, low, and narrow. Her builders are said to have estimated her probable maximum speed at eighteen to twenty knots. This estimate proved to be optimistic. Tom Taylor declared that only nine or ten knots could be got out of her engines under ordinary conditions. Her boilers had been constructed so low, he wrote, they had not sufficient steam space.

In spite of her lack of speed and her structural defects, *Banshee* made sixteen runs before she was taken off Beaufort, North Carolina, on 21 November 1863.

The Confederate naval authorities were not in agreement as to the type of steamer best suited for blockade running. Secretary of the Navy S. R. Mallory stated in a letter to Commander James D. Bulloch, C. S. N., then in England to purchase ships for the Navy Department, that the three desiderata in the construction of these vessels were great carrying-capacity, great speed, and light draft. 'While screw ships give the most stowage, and are run more economically and approach blockaded ports with less noise than paddle wheels,' he wrote, 'the latter attain greater speed and exert their power with better effect to get afloat when ashore.'<sup>32</sup>

Lieutenant John Wilkinson, C. S. N., Commander of *R. E. Lee*, on the other hand, greatly preferred steamers furnished with double screws. Writing to Mallory,<sup>33</sup> whom he later was to designate as 'the incompetent Secretary of the Confederate States Navy,'<sup>34</sup> Wilkinson explained his preference. Vessels equipped with double screws, he declared,

are best calculated for the trade . . . for they can be constructed to combine light draft, considerable speed, and great carrying capacity (qualities that are common to neither the side-wheel steamers nor single propellers) and they possess the additional advantages over either of turning almost upon their keel, a great desideratum in tracking along our coasts, or crossing our bars at night. It is true that side-wheel steamers possess greater speed, especially head to wind, and also that there is very much less difficulty in getting them afloat if they happen to take the ground; but with regard to the first point, it may be remarked that very few steamers of any description have been captured at sea by the enemy's cruisers, and it is fair, therefore, to infer that, with vigilance, any steamer of ordinary speed will in most cases, be able to elude a cruiser unless, indeed one be in sight at daylight, her superiority in speed must be

<sup>32</sup> Letter, Secretary Mallory to Commander Bulloch, dated 21 March 1864: *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Second Series, II, 615.

<sup>33</sup> Letter, Lieutenant Wilkinson to Secretary Mallory, dated 27 March 1864: *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Second Series, II, 617.

<sup>34</sup> Wilkinson, *The Narrative of a Blockade Runner*, p. 110.

very great to enable her to overtake the chase before dark. In relation to the second point above mentioned, I would remark that with the establishment of the lights,<sup>35</sup> there is every reason to believe that the risks of getting aground outside will be very materially diminished.

A double-screw steamer, therefore, drawing from 9 to 10 feet loaded, with a capacity for 300 tons dead weight, and from 1,000 to 1,200 bales of cotton, would, in my opinion, be most suitable for the purposes of the Government.

Such a steamer was *Coquette*, an iron double-propeller purchased in Britain in September 1863, for the Confederate Navy and put into service by it as a blockade runner.

*Coquette* was a fore and aft schooner of 300 tons. She had been built at Renfrew on the Clyde, was 228 feet long, 25 feet in breadth, 12 feet 2 inches in depth, and was powered by two diagonal, oscillating engines of about 200 nominal horsepower. *Coquette* had a straight stem, an elliptic stern, was double-plated amidships, and had a powder magazine under her storeroom. Her marked draft was 10 feet, fore and aft.<sup>36</sup> The largest number of bales of cotton she is known to have carried on a single run was 1,259, valued at \$641,303.50.<sup>37</sup>

Commander James D. Bulloch, C. S. N., who bought *Coquette* for the Confederate Navy, reported to Secretary Mallory:

... In the selection of a steamer to suit our wants I was much embarrassed particularly by the scarcity of vessels combining speed and carrying capacity and partially by the depressed state of our finances. Steamers suitable in size, draft of water, and engine power for blockade running are now held at a price far above their intrinsic value. Besides this the better class of paddle steamers had all been already disposed of. Those that remained of that description were too small, and I was thus forced to fall back upon a screw. The one selected has large carrying capacity upon a light draft, and will, I think, be as fast as the majority of the vessels heretofore sent out from England as blockade runners. She was far more rigidly tried than steamers usually are, and after steaming about the Firth of Clyde at full speed for perhaps a couple of hours was then run between two lights four times, the distance being accurately known, averaging 13½ knots. ...<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> It was the practice of the Confederates to place two lights on the beach in such positions that when, from an incoming ship, they appeared to be one, the ship was in the channel leading to the port.

<sup>36</sup> Deposition of Andrew J. Forrest, chief engineer of *Coquette*, dated 12 March 1866. (File No. 6100, *Cotton and Captured Property Records*, U. S. Treasury Department.)

Affidavit of A. B. Newcombe, dated 28 February 1866. (File No. 6100, *Cotton and Captured Property Records*, U. S. Treasury Department.)

Copy of 'private and confidential' letter from Robert Murray, U. S. Marshal, So. District of New York, to U. S. Secretary of State Seward, dated 26 February 1866. (File No. 6100, *Cotton and Captured Property Records*, U. S. Treasury Department.)

Despatch No. 166, U. S. Consul at Liverpool to U. S. Secretary of State Seward, dated 16 October 1863, enclosure Number 5.

<sup>37</sup> Outward Manifest of Steamer *Coquette*, issued at Charleston on 22 October 1864.

<sup>38</sup> Report, Commander Bulloch to Secretary Mallory, dated 22 October 1863: *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies on the War of the Rebellion*, Second Series, II, 511.

*Coquette* left Liverpool for Bermuda on 4 November 1863, flying the British flag. She was under the command of Lieutenant Robert R. Carter, C. S. N., of Shirley plantation, Virginia, who, quite appropriately sailed under the alias John Welborn.<sup>39</sup>

The following digest of the log of *Coquette* for the period 4 November 1863—5 July 1864,<sup>39</sup> might well be the chronicle of any blockade runner of the period:

- 4 November: From Liverpool towards Bermuda.
  - 19 November: Received pilot and anchored in St. George's Bay, Bermuda, 13 days from Cork.<sup>40</sup>
  - 21 November: Commenced making skylight covers and painting ship outside lead color.<sup>41</sup>
  - 12 December: For Nassau. Returned to Bermuda with disabled engine.
  - 29 December: At Bermuda. Comptroller of Customs discharged crew. Third engineer and six firemen retained under new arrangement, as were the boatswain, carpenter and one seaman.
  - 31 December: New crew came on.
  - 23 January: Finished coaling, having taken in 100 tons in all.<sup>42</sup>
  - 3 March: Went to sea. Vessel put under sail.
  - 7 March: Made land. Ran ashore on Caroline Shoal. Got off on afternoon tide, towed by Confederate Gunboat *Equator*.
  - 8 March: 10:30 A.M. Arrived off Power's wharf, Wilmington, towed by Confederate Gunboats *Yadkin* and *Equator*.
  - 10 March: Discharged private and army freight.
  - 20 March: Began loading with cotton and tobacco.
  - 23 March: Crew employed in preparing sails and running gear for sea. Ship drawing 8 feet 10 inches aft and about 7 feet forward.
  - 24 March: Steamed quietly down the river and anchored off Fort Fisher. A little after dark, got under weigh and proceeded across the bar under half speed. Soon after were annoyed by the appearance of two Yankee blockaders, which, with a little trouble, we succeeded in eluding.
- [Note: For some reason not explained in her log, the *Coquette* put back into Wilmington and did not sail for Nassau until 1 April.]
- 4 April: 10:30 P.M. Made Abaco Light.

<sup>39</sup> Log of the Confederate Steamer *Coquette*, 4 November 1863, 7 August 1864. (File No. 6100, *Cotton and Captured Property Records*, U. S. Treasury Department.) Report, Commander Bulloch to Secretary Mallory, dated 1 October 1863.

<sup>40</sup> *Coquette's* log shows that, while crossing the Atlantic, her speed ranged from 9 to slightly over 11 knots. She broke her starboard propeller en route and her mainmast head had to be repaired.

<sup>41</sup> It was the common practice, particularly during the last two or three years of the war, to paint blockade runners white, or a lead or smoke color to make them less easily seen.

<sup>42</sup> Welsh semi-bituminous or patent coal was used by blockade runners whenever it was available, because it made very little smoke. Anthracite coal mined in the United States was not to be had. Bituminous coal available in the South gave off a dangerous amount of smoke. When short of coal, blockade runners are known to have used cotton, soaked in kerosene, for fuel.



- 5 April: 4 A.M. Made Nassau Light.  
5:30 A.M. Crossed the bar and made fast to public wharf at foot of Parliament Street, Nassau.
- 7 April: Last of cargo discharged.
- 6 May: Commenced taking on cargo.
- 9 May: Crossed the bar at noon and proceeded to Wilmington, the boilermakers having finished work 30 minutes before.<sup>43</sup>
- 12 May: 5 P.M. Discovered a sail—ran from her. At midnight, crossed the bar and proceeded up river toward Wilmington.
- 23 May: Commenced taking on cargo.
- 27 May: Finished loading and got ready for sea.
- 28 May: At midnight, sailed for Nassau.
- 29 May: 6 A.M. Discovered a cruiser, and he at the same time discovered us and gave us chase. Soon found he was gaining on us rapidly. Called all hands and commenced throwing over cargo and continued until we could drop him astern and quit. Suppose we threw half of the cargo overboard.<sup>44</sup> At noon Yankee still in chase and about 5 miles astern.
- 30 May: Yankee cruiser still in pursuit, sometimes gaining, sometimes losing ground. Lost sight of him at 8 P.M., and changed course.
- 1 June: 10 P.M. Made Abaco Light.
- 2 June: 6 A.M. Got a pilot and crossed the bar at Nassau.
- 6 June: Sailed for Wilmington.
- 9 June: Arrived Wilmington.
- 27 June: Sailed for Nassau, but couldn't get water enough to cross the bar. Returned to Wilmington.
- 1 July: Crossed the bar at 8:30 P.M., running around several blockaders. Made sail for 8 hours. Saw ship and went to engines.
- 3 July: Found a stowaway.
- 5 July: 3:30 A.M. Made Nassau Light. At 4 P.M., commenced discharging cargo at Nassau.

At the beginning of her career as a blockade runner, *Coquette* was believed to be the best vessel then employed in the trade.<sup>45</sup> By the summer of 1864, however, deposits on her tubes which could not be cleaned had so reduced her speed that Confederate Secretary of the Navy Mallory, apprehensive of her capture, authorized her sale to W. W. Finney, B. F. Ficklen, J. R. Anderson and Company, and E. M. Bruce, for £16,000. '... Engineers, in defiance of all watching, will allow the water to attain too great a density in the boilers,' Secretary Mallory explained to Commander

<sup>43</sup> According to entries in her log, the pilot of *Coquette* had managed to run her afoul H. B. M. Sloop *Vesuvius* in Nassau harbor, and *Coquette* had been considerably damaged.

<sup>44</sup> According to the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, 500 bales of cotton were heaved overboard to enable *Coquette* to increase her speed sufficiently to escape capture. (Letter, Secretary Mallory to Commander Bulloch, dated 18 July 1864: *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Second Series, II, 687, 688.)

Bulloch, 'and unless access can be had to the tubes to free them from the deposit of scale and salt the vessel rapidly falls off in speed and is captured. . . .'<sup>45</sup>

Despite her lack of speed, *Coquette* was not captured during the war and, before the evacuation of Charleston ended her career as a blockade runner, had made sixteen successful runs in and out of that port and Wilmington.

No longer required for the rôle of hare in the game of hare and hounds that had been played off the Carolina coast for nearly four years, *Coquette* was laid up at Nassau in charge of Saunders and Son, a mercantile firm of that place, until her owners could arrange for her disposal. But the story of *Coquette* was not to end on so prosaic a note. She soon became involved in a series of plots and counterplots that constitute the strangest chapter in her adventurous career.

Luther R. Smoot, formerly Quartermaster General of the State of Virginia, was sent to Nassau by *Coquette's* owners to engage a master and crew to take her into Baltimore or New York City, where she was to be sold. Smoot employed one Richard Squires to serve as master for the voyage, and in order to obtain British registry for *Coquette*, transferred her title to Squires without compensation.

Squires was a secret agent of the United States government who had been sent from New York City to Bermuda and Nassau about two years before, by direction of United States Secretary of State Seward, to ferret out information about blockade runners and the activities of Confederate agents in those ports.

*Coquette* sailed from Nassau on 17 December 1865 under Squires' command. Six days later, Squires ran her into Baltimore, Maryland, turned her over to the Treasury Department as captured enemy property, and claimed compensation from the United States government for the services rendered. He was paid the sum of \$786, the amount allowed for his services as master from 14 November 1865, the date of his employment by Smoot, until 14 March 1866, when he left the vessel.<sup>46</sup>

Any story of the ships that tested the blockade of the Carolina ports would be incomplete if it failed to mention the men who manned them. Among the records in the National Archives that relate to blockade run-

<sup>45</sup> Letter, Secretary Mallory to Commander Bulloch, dated 10 August 1864: *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Second Series, II, 703.

Affidavit of William H. Peters, agent for Confederate Navy Department at Wilmington, dated 8 April 1867. (File No. 6100, *Cotton and Captured Property Records*, U. S. Treasury Department.)

<sup>46</sup> Original receipt signed by Richard Squires. (File No. 6100, *Cotton and Captured Property Records*, U. S. Treasury Department.)

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ning are several sworn lists of officers, passengers, and crews of the steamer *Syren*. One of these lists gives the following information about the ship's personnel:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Place of Birth</u>
Master	38	Ireland
Chief Mate	37	Charleston, South Carolina
Second Mate and Nassau Pilot	45	Nassau, New Providence
Third Mate and Purser	24	Charleston, South Carolina
Leadsman	26	Savannah, Georgia
Carpenter	25	Charleston, South Carolina
Watchman	52	Baltimore, Maryland
Painter	23	Nassau, New Providence
Chief Steward	22	Nassau, New Providence
Second Steward	20	Nassau, New Providence
Third Steward	22	Nassau, New Providence
Chief Cook	36	Nassau, New Providence
Second Cook	30	Charleston, South Carolina
Seaman	25	Capetown, South Africa
Seaman	48	Italy
Seaman	31	Italy
Seaman	26	France
Seaman	26	Charleston, South Carolina
Seaman	30	Glasgow, Scotland
Seaman	25	Nassau, New Providence
Seaman	27	Liverpool, England
Mess boy	16	Ireland
Mess boy	16	Ireland
Chief Engineer	40	Canada
First Assistant Engineer	30	Havana, Cuba
Second Assistant Engineer	23	Charleston, South Carolina
Third Assistant Engineer	28	Wilmington, North Carolina
Greaser	25	Ireland
Greaser	29	England
Fireman	22	Ireland
Fireman	42	Ireland
Fireman	35	Ireland
Fireman	30	Ireland
Fireman	35	Ireland
Fireman	26	Quebec, Canada
Fireman	34	England
Fireman	25	England
Fireman	26	England
Fireman	33	Prussia
Fireman	31	Scotland

While some of the blockade running sailors who claimed foreign birth undoubtedly did so falsely in order to obtain preferential treatment if captured,<sup>47</sup> it is well established that the great majority actually were foreigners. Captain Wilkinson stated that Nassau swarmed with sailors from the four corners of the world, drawn there either by their lust for adventure or the high wages paid for blockade running.<sup>48</sup> Even some of the post-captains of the British Royal Navy, marking time waiting their turns for commands, found the attractions of blockade running irresistible. Among these was Augustus Charles Hobart-Hampden, who assumed the

<sup>47</sup> On 9 May 1864, U. S. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles issued the following instructions with reference to the disposition of persons found on vessels seized for breach of the blockade:

1. *Bona fide* foreign subjects captured in neutral vessels, whether passengers, officers or crew, were not to be treated as prisoners of war, unless guilty of belligerent acts, but were entitled to immediate release. Such as were required as witnesses might be detained for that purpose, but must be unconditionally released when their testimony had been secured.

2. Foreign subjects captured in vessels without papers or colors, or those sailing under the protection and flag of the insurgent government, or employed in the service of that government, were to be treated as prisoners of war, and, if in the capacity of officers or crew were to be detained. If they were passengers only, and had no interest in the vessel or the cargo and were in no way connected with the insurgent government, they might be released.

3. Citizens of the United States captured in either neutral or rebel vessels were to be detained, with the following exceptions: If they were passengers only, had no interest in the vessel or its cargo, had not been active in the rebellion or engaged in supplying the insurgents with munitions of war, *et cetera*, and were loyally disposed, they might be released on taking the oath of allegiance. The same privilege might be allowed to any of the crew that were not seafaring men, of like antecedents and who were loyally disposed.

4. Pilots and seafaring men, except *bona fide* foreign subjects, captured in neutral vessels were always to be detained. Persons habitually engaged in violating the blockade, though not serving on board the vessels, likewise were to be detained.

Welles explained to Lee, in a letter dated July 19, 1864, that under the provisions of the above paragraph numbered "4," foreign subjects captured in neutral vessels might not be detained even though they were habitual blockade runners. This paragraph, he stated, was intended to apply to persons, who were not foreign subjects and not part of a ship's crew, who were engaged in running articles in and out of the insurrectionary states.

5. If doubt existed as to whether those who claimed to be foreign subjects actually were, they were to be required to state under oath that they had never been naturalized in the United States, had never exercised the privileges of a citizen thereof by voting or otherwise, and had never been in the pay or employment of the insurgent, or so-called Confederate Government. On making such statement, they might be released, providing the admiral commanding the blockading squadron had no evidence they had sworn falsely. Examinations were to be rigid in doubtful cases.

6. When the neutrality of a captured vessel was doubtful, or when a vessel claiming to be neutral was believed to be engaged in transporting supplies and munitions of war for the insurgent government, foreign subjects captured in such vessels might be detained until the neutrality of the vessel was established. It was not deemed advisable, by the U. S. Navy Department, to detain such persons unless there was good ground for doubting the neutrality of the vessel.

7. Persons detained were to be sent to a northern port for safe custody, unless there was a suitable place for keeping them within the limits of the command of the admiral commanding the squadron, and the Navy Department was furnished with a memorandum in their cases, respectively.

(Copy of letter from Secretary Gideon Welles to Rear Admiral Farragut sent by Welles to Acting Rear Admiral S. P. Lee, Commanding North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, pasted on inside front cover of volume titled: *Prisoners Captured on Blockade Runners, 1861-1865*, U. S. Navy Department.)

<sup>48</sup> Wilkinson, *The Narrative of a Blockade Runner*, p. 123.



alias Captain Roberts and entered the game as master of *Don*, a double-screw steamer of 400 tons burden.<sup>49</sup> 'We enjoyed the excitement in the same way as a man enjoys fox-hunting,' he wrote, 'only, by the way, we were the fox instead of the huntsmen.'<sup>49</sup>

While, of course, the wages paid the officers and men engaged in blockade running fluctuated during the course of the war, and appear to have been based at least in part on the ability of the hiring company to pay, they were always extremely high.

L. Heyliger, Confederate War Department representative at Nassau, wrote Secretary of War G. W. Randolph on 26 July 1862:

I must call your attention to what I conceive to be a most unpatriotic procedure and gross exaction on the part of our pilots. Four of the Charleston branch pilots arrived on the *Kate* this morning. They have fixed their demands at \$1,500 to be paid here [Nassau] and \$3,500 at home. We have offered the exorbitant rate of \$1,000 here and \$3,000 on arrival, which they have thus far refused. . . .

Lieutenant J. N. Maffitt, C. S. N., reported in 1862<sup>50</sup>

. . . The port wages for seamen is \$50 with a bonus each way of \$50 for running the blockade. The officers of the vessel (disconnected with the Government), receive a bonus amounting to their pay each way. Engineers, masters, coal heavers, are few in number and their demands increase with the difficulties of running the blockade. . . .

Captain Wilkinson stated that the monthly wages of a sailor on a blockade running vessel was \$100 in gold, with a \$50 bounty at the end of a successful trip. Such a trip, he pointed out, could be accomplished under favorable circumstances in seven days. Captains and pilots, he wrote, sometimes received as much as \$5,000, besides perquisites.<sup>51</sup>

Professor James Russell Soley declared<sup>52</sup> that when blockade running was at its height, the rates of pay for a single voyage on a first-class runner were: Captain, £1,000, Chief Officer, £250, Second and Third Officers, £150 each, Chief Engineer, £500, Pilot £750, crew and firemen, about £50. Half of these amounts were paid as bounties at the beginning of the voyage, the remainder being paid at its successful conclusion.

In addition to the bounties and wages they received, the masters and men of blockade running ships frequently picked up tidy sums by investing their savings in merchandise, which they sold on arrival at the block-

<sup>49</sup> Augustus Charles Hobart, [Hobart Pasha] *Sketches From My Life* (London, 1886), pp. 87, 89.

<sup>50</sup> *Letters Received, Rebel Archives, Records Division, War Department* (U. S.).

<sup>51</sup> Wilkinson, *The Narrative of a Blockade Runner*, p. 124.

<sup>52</sup> James Russell Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers* (New York, 1883), p. 167.

aded port, or by exporting a few bales of cotton and disposing of it at Nassau or Bermuda.

Captain Hobart-Hampden brought into Wilmington on his first trip one thousand pairs of stays, five hundred boxes of Cockle's pills, and a quantity of toothbrushes. He made a profit of nearly 1,100 per cent on the stays. The pills were traded in Nassau, 'where everyone was bilious from overeating and drinking,' for matches which he sold in Wilmington at a profit. The toothbrushes were disposed of in Richmond, Virginia, 'at about seven times their cost.'<sup>53</sup>

It is neither represented nor believed that the following list of ships that tested the blockade of the Carolina ports, 1861-1865,<sup>54</sup> contains the name of every ship that engaged in the business. The customs records now available, particularly those of the port of Wilmington, are by no means complete. To fill in gaps, recourse has been had to secondary source material.

<sup>53</sup> Hobart, *Sketches From My Life*, pp. 103, 104, 108.

<sup>54</sup> In determining the number of successful runs to be credited to a particular vessel, no attention has been paid to statements by U. S. Consuls and others that such vessel 'is said' to have made a specified number of trips through the blockade. The number of runs shown in each case is based entirely on data obtained from the sources cited at the end of the list.

# SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE OF THE CAROLINA PORTS

[Where tonnage is indicated in these tables it has not been possible to distinguish between gross, net, or burthen, as the majority of the records do not indicate which kind is given therein.]

## I. 1861—FROM THE IMPOSITION OF THE BLOCKADE TO THE END OF THE CALENDAR YEAR

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Carolina Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>A and A</i>	bark					2
<i>A. B. Howlett</i>	schooner					2
<i>Acorn</i>	schooner	61				2
<i>Adele</i>	schooner					1
<i>Adeline Townsend</i>	schooner					2
<i>Adelso</i>	schooner					2
<i>Admiral Blake</i>	schooner					2
<i>Admiral P. Jordenskjold</i>	bark					1
<i>A. E. Sonyrk [Sonyak]</i>	brig					4
<i>Agnes H. Ward</i>	schooner					2
<i>Aid</i>	schooner					2
<i>Aid</i>	schooner					2
<i>Aigburth</i>	schooner					1
<i>A. J. Child</i>	schooner					4
<i>A. J. DeRosset</i>	schooner					2
<i>Alabama</i>	schooner					2
<i>Albert</i>	bark					2
<i>Albion [Winyaw]</i>	schooner	305				2
<i>Albion</i>	schooner					1
<i>Alert</i>	schooner					1
<i>Alice Ida</i>	schooner					1
<i>Alliance</i>	steamer					3
<i>Amelia</i>	schooner					1
<i>Amytis</i>	schooner					2
<i>Anna Davis</i>	schooner					1
<i>Anna Deans</i>	schooner					2
<i>Ann S. Deas</i>	schooner					2
<i>Arcola</i>	schooner					4
<i>Arctic</i>	schooner					1
<i>Ariel</i>	brig					1

captured Lat. 30° N., Long. 80° W., 31 Aug.

captured off Charleston, S. C., 16 Aug.  
captured off coast of S. C., 25 Nov.  
captured off Charleston, S. C., 6 Oct.

captured off Charleston, S. C., 18 June

captured off Charleston, S. C., 6 Oct.

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Carolina Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
Ariel	brig			captured off Wilmington, N. C., 20 Oct.	for	2
Aristides	schooner					2
Atkinson [Elizabeth]	schooner					8
Atlantic	schooner					2
A. W. Thompson	schooner					1
Baltimore	schooner			captured Hatteras Inlet, N. C., 29 Sept.	for	7
Barnett	steamer					1
B. D. Pitts	schooner					1
Beauregard	privateer schooner			captured off Charleston, S. C., 12 Nov.	from	
Belle	sloop					7
Betsey Ames	brig	265				1
Beverly	schooner					2
B. F. Martin	brig			destroyed off Cape Hatteras, 28 July	---	
British Queen	schooner					1
C. A. Heckscher	schooner					1
Calliope	schooner	483	35			2
Carolina [Kate] <sup>1</sup>	steamer					8
Carrie Sanford	schooner					5
C. B. Glover	schooner					1
Cecile <sup>2</sup>	steamer	360	19/95			13
Champion	schooner			wrecked off Hatteras Inlet, N. C., 15 Dec.	for	2
Charity	schooner					1
Charles Northcote	bark					2
Charles T. Smythe	schooner					2
Charlotte	steamer					4
Chesterfield	schooner					2
Chief	schooner					3
C. H. Prior	schooner					1
Clara	schooner					1
Colombo	ship					1
Colonel Long	schooner					1
Colonel McRae	schooner					12
Coquette	schooner					5
Culpepper	schooner					2
D. C. Hulse	schooner					1
D. B. Warner	schooner					1
Deborah Jones	schooner					1
DeKaib	steamer					2
Diste	privateer					
Dolphin	steamer					
D. W. Eldridge	schooner					6
Echo [Jefferson Davis] <sup>3</sup>	schooner					2
	brig					
	privateer	260				

continued off Charleston, S. C.



## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

217

Ship	Owner	Tonnage	Agent	Remarks	Days
DeKalb	DeKalb	100	DeKalb	captured off Charleston, S. C., —	5
Dolphin	Dolphin	100	Dolphin	captured off Charleston, S. C., —	6
Echo [Jefferson Davis] <sup>3</sup>	Echo	260	Echo	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2
Edisto	Edisto	260	Edisto	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	3
Edisto	Edisto	260	Edisto	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	6
Edward D. Stanley	Edward D. Stanley	260	Edward D. Stanley	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	6
Edwin	Edwin	260	Edwin	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2
Edwin and Samuel	Edwin and Samuel	260	Edwin and Samuel	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	4
E. J. Waterman	E. J. Waterman	260	E. J. Waterman	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	11
Eliza and Catherine	Eliza and Catherine	260	Eliza and Catherine	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	4
Elizabeth [Atkinson]	Elizabeth [Atkinson]	260	Elizabeth [Atkinson]	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2
Ella	Ella	260	Ella	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2
Ella Warley [Isabel] <sup>4</sup>	Ella Warley [Isabel] <sup>4</sup>	260	Ella Warley [Isabel] <sup>4</sup>	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	4
Emilie [William Seabrook]	Emilie [William Seabrook]	260	Emilie [William Seabrook]	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	4
Emma Eger	Emma Eger	260	Emma Eger	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	8
Ettuan	Ettuan	260	Ettuan	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
Ettuan	Ettuan	260	Ettuan	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	5
Evelyn [H. E. Vincent, Victoria]	Evelyn [H. E. Vincent, Victoria]	260	Evelyn [H. E. Vincent, Victoria]	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	7
Excelsior	Excelsior	260	Excelsior	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2
Exchange	Exchange	260	Exchange	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
Fannie Lewis	Fannie Lewis	260	Fannie Lewis	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
Flash	Flash	260	Flash	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
Frances Arthemus	Frances Arthemus	260	Frances Arthemus	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
Gauss	Gauss	260	Gauss	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2
G. D. and R. F. Shannon	G. D. and R. F. Shannon	260	G. D. and R. F. Shannon	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	5
General C. C. Pinckney	General C. C. Pinckney	260	General C. C. Pinckney	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
General Clinch <sup>5</sup>	General Clinch <sup>5</sup>	260	General Clinch <sup>5</sup>	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
General Parkhill	General Parkhill	260	General Parkhill	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	14
General Ripley [Island Belle]	General Ripley [Island Belle]	260	General Ripley [Island Belle]	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2
Geo. Chisolm	Geo. Chisolm	260	Geo. Chisolm	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
George W. Grice	George W. Grice	260	George W. Grice	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2
Glen	Glen	260	Glen	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	3
Gold Hunter	Gold Hunter	260	Gold Hunter	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2
Gondar	Gondar	260	Gondar	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
Gordon [Theodora, Nassau]	Gordon [Theodora, Nassau]	260	Gordon [Theodora, Nassau]	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	16
Governor Aiken [Petrel] <sup>6</sup>	Governor Aiken [Petrel] <sup>6</sup>	260	Governor Aiken [Petrel] <sup>6</sup>	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	4
Granada	Granada	260	Granada	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
Guide	Guide	260	Guide	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
G. W. Price	G. W. Price	260	G. W. Price	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
Hamilton Gray	Hamilton Gray	260	Hamilton Gray	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	1
H. and J. Nield	H. and J. Nield	260	H. and J. Nield	captured off Beaufort, N. C., —	2

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Carolina Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
Hannah Balch	brigantine			captured off Charleston, S. C., —	—	1
Hannah Matilda	brig					
Harmony	schooner			captured off Cape Hatteras, 24 Apr.	for	1
Harriet Lowndes	schooner					
Harriet P. Ryan	schooner			captured off Hatteras Inlet, N. C., 9 Sept.	for	7
Havlock [Noank]	schooner			captured off Cape Fear, 15 Dec.	for	1
Helen	bark	330				2
Helene	schooner					2
Henrietta	schooner					3
Henry A. Middleton	schooner			captured off Charleston, S. C., 21 Aug.	from	1
Henry Nutt	schooner			captured off Hatteras Inlet, N. C., 9 Sept.	for	
Henry Travers	schooner					
Herald	brig			captured off coast of North Carolina, 16 July	from	2
H. E. Vincent [Evelyn, Victoria]	schooner	85.75				4
High Priest	schooner					1
Home	schooner					1
H. P. Russell	schooner					1
H. P. Stoney	schooner					1
Hume	schooner					6
Ida	schooner					2
Ida Della Torre	schooner					1
Indus	bark					2
Isabel [Ella Warley]	steamer	1115				2
Isabella	brig					1
Island Belle [General Ripley]	schooner					5
J. A. Hazard	bark					2
James H. Ladson	schooner					2
James P. Whidbee	schooner					2
Jane Davis	schooner					2
Jane Fisher	schooner					1
Jasper	schooner					8
J. C. Manson	schooner					2
Jefferson Davis [Echo]	brig	260				2
Jenny Lind	schooner					2
J. G. Stille	schooner					2
J. H. Scammel	schooner					3
Joanna Ward	schooner					2
John	schooner					2
John Ammack	schooner					1
John Balch	brig					1
John F. Frazier	brig					1
John Randolph	steamer					1
John Ravenel	ship	700	14/95			1
John Welch	brig	273				1
Jonas Smith	schooner					1
Joseph	brig					1

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

Ship	Year	Value	Notes
John Ammack	1870	700	captured off Beaufort, N. C., --
John Balch	1871	14/95	
John Randolph	1872	273	
John Ravenel	1873		
John Welch	1874		
Jonas Smith	1875		
Joseph	1876		
Joseph Ann	1877		
Josephus	1878		
Julia	1879		
Julia Grace	1880		
Julia Worden	1881		
Justina Randel	1882		
J. W. Goodridge	1883		
J. W. McKee	1884		
Kate [Carolina]	1885		
Kepler	1886		
Kiawah	1887		
Laura [Soleta]	1888		
Lavinia	1889		
L. B. Stille	1890		
L. C. Eborn	1891		
Leonora	1892		
Leroy C. Holmes	1893		
Lilla [Mary Wright]	1894		
Louisa [Victoria]	1895		
Louisa Agnes	1896		
Loures	1897		
Lucy C. Holmes	1898		
Mabel	1899		
Maracaibo	1900		
Maria Morton	1901		
Mariner	1902		
Marion	1903		
Martin	1904		
Mary	1905		
Mary	1906		
Mary Adelaide	1907		
Mary Adeline	1908		
Mary Ann	1909		
Mary A. Pender	1910		
Mary A. Rowland	1911		
Mary Clinton	1912		
Mary Haley	1913		

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
Mary Jane Kennedy	schooner					2
Mary Louisa	sloop					2
Mary Wood	schooner					2
Mary Wright [Lilla]	brig	265		captured off Hatteras Inlet, N. C., 9 Sept.	for	
Matron	brig					1
Minnehaha	schooner					2
Morrison	steamer					3
Nairn	schooner					2
Napier	schooner					1
Nashville [Thos. L. Wragg, Rattlesnake]	steamer	1229				2
Nassau [Gordon, Theodora]	steamer	578	28			21
Nina?	steamer	338				3
Noank [Havelock]	schooner					2
North Carolina	schooner			captured, Hatteras Inlet, N. C., 9 Sept.	for	
Ocean Wave	schooner					2
Odd Fellow	schooner					2
Olimpia	bark					3
Ora Peake	schooner					2
Pangasset	schooner					3
Patriot	schooner					2
Patron	schooner					1
P. C. Ferguson	schooner					1
Pearl	schooner					3
Peter	bark					1
Peter Dickson	schooner					1
Petrel [Governor Aiken]	schooner					1
P. J. Brooks	sloop					10
P. J. Nevins	brigantine					2
Planter	transport					2
Pocolaligo [Prince Alfred]	steamer	236		captured off Hatteras Inlet, N. C., 28 Sept.	for	
Prince of Wales	schooner	60		burned off Georgetown, S. C., 24 Dec.	for	8
Purse	schooner					1
Radiant	schooner					2
Rattlesnake [Nashville, Thos. L. Wragg]	steamer	1229				1
Raven	schooner			burned off Beaufort, N. C., 10 Sept.	for	3
Revere	schooner					5
R. H. Tucker	ship					
R. K. Hawley	schooner					
Robert Bruce	brig	181.94	9			
Robert Healy	schooner					
Rowena	bark	330				
Royal Victoria	ship					
Sally Ann						



## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

221

Revere	schooner						1
R. H. Tucker	ship						2
R. K. Hawley	schooner	181-94	9				1
Robert Bruce	brig						1
Robert Healy	schooner						4
Rowena	bark	330					1
Royal Victoria	ship						2
Sally Ann	schooner						1
Samuel Adams	schooner						7
Samuel Martin	sloop	80					5
San Juan	schooner						5
Santee	schooner						3
Sarah	schooner	73 47/95					3
Sarah Starr	schooner						3
Savannahs	privateer						2
	schooner						1
Sea Nymph	schooner						1
Señora Isabel	schooner						2
Shamrock	sloop						1
Sheet Anchor [Trader]	schooner						2
Sir Allan McNab	ship						2
Smithsonian	schooner						1
Soleta [Laura]	schooner	29 92/95					1
Southerner	ship	1318					2
S. P. Brooks	sloop						1
Splendid	ship						2
Sunny South	schooner						2
Surpass	schooner						2
Susan Ann Howard	schooner						2
Susan Catharine	schooner						2
Susan G. Owens	schooner						3
Susan Jane	ship						1
Susan McPherson	schooner						1
Swan	sloop						1
Telegraph	schooner						1
Theodora [Gordon, Nassau]	steamer	578	28				1
Theodore Stoner	schooner						1
Thos. L. Wragg [Nashville, Rattle- snake]	steamer	1229					1
Thos. Watson	ship						2
Trader [Sheet Anchor]	schooner						1
Treaty	steamer						2
T. R. Hughlett	schooner						2
Tyne	brig						2
Velasco	schooner						2
Vencedor	brig						2

captured off Hatteras Inlet, N. C., 28 Sept.

captured off Wilmington, N. C., 3 Aug.  
captured off Charleston, S. C., 3 June

captured off Hatteras Inlet, N. C., 10 Sept.

destroyed off Charleston, S. C., 15 Oct.

destroyed off coast of North Carolina, 18 July

12  
12  
12

Known  
Successful  
Runs During  
Year

Bound  
for or from  
Carolina  
Port

# SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed

Crew

Tons

Type

NAME OF VESSEL

Victoria [Evelyn, H. E. Vincent]

Victoria [Louisa]

Volante

Walton

War Eagle

W. C. Bee

West Indian

W. H. Howard

W. H. Ladson

William H. Northrup

W. H. Prior

William and John

Winyaw [Albion]

Wm. Seabrook [Emilie]<sup>10</sup>

W. S. Triplett

Yemassee

York

Zenith

4

3

2

1

3

2

1

8

2

4

—

—

1

1

—

2

captured off Cape Fear, 25 Dec.

captured off Cape Hatteras, —

steamers 21, sailing vessels 253, total 274  
 steamers 131, sailing vessels 602, total 733  
 steamers 131, sailing vessels 562, total 693  
 steamers 0, sailing vessels 40, total 40  
 steamers 100%, sailing vessels 93%, all types 94%

Summary for 1861:

Vessels engaged in the business:

Number of runs attempted:

Successful runs:

Unsuccessful runs:

Percentage of successful runs:

## II. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1862

Acorn

Active

Actor

Adelaide

Adelaide

Agnes H. Ward

Agnes Louisa [Grapeshot]

A. H. Partridge

Albemarle

Alexander

Alligator

America

Anglia<sup>10</sup>

Anna Deans

61

273

schooner

schooner

schooner

brig

schooner

schooner

steamer

schooner

steamer

schooner

schooner

schooner

sloop

steamer

captured Stono, S. C., 26 Apr.

sunk Pamlico River, N. C., 6 Mar.

burned Sounds of N. C., 21 Oct.

captured coast of S. C., 1 June

wrecked off Hog Island, 10 Sept.

captured off Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.

captured off Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.

captured off Pungo River, N. C., 25 Mar.

captured off Charleston, S. C., 1 May

wrecked off Wilmington, N. C., —

captured Newtogan Creek, N. C., 10 Apr.

captured Bull's Bay, 27 Oct.

—

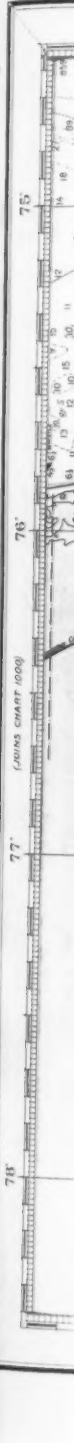
## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

223

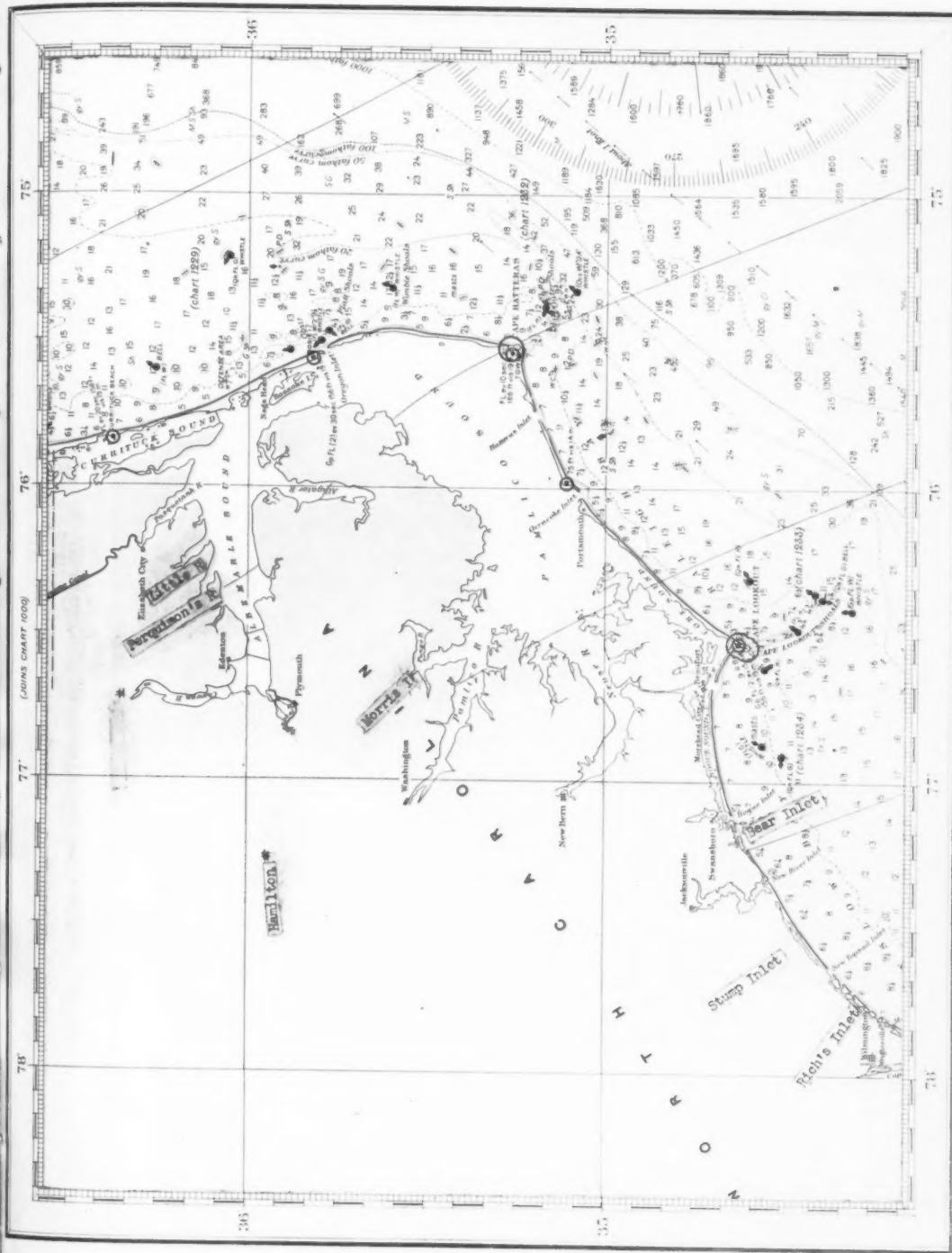
Ship	Type	Value	Notes	Count	Destination
Albemarle	steamer		captured off Pungo River, N. C., 25 Mar.	1	for
Alexander	schooner		captured off Charleston, S. C., 1 May	3	for
Alligator	schooner		wrecked off Wilmington, N. C., —	1	for
America	sloop		captured Newtogan Creek, N. C., 10 Apr.	1	—
Anglia <sup>10</sup>	steamer	456	captured Bull's Bay, 27 Oct.	3	for
Anna Deans	schooner		captured off Charleston, S. C., 7 Nov.		from
Anna Helen [Emily St. Pierre]	ship		captured off Charleston, S. C., 18 Mar. but was recaptured by her crew and taken safely to Liverpool, England		for
Annie Childs [T. D. Wagner, Victory,	steamer			1	
Julie Usher, North Carolina] <sup>11</sup>	schooner	618.31	destroyed off Shallotte Inlet, N. C., 18 Nov.	38	for
Ann Maria	steamer			8	
Antonica [Herald] <sup>12</sup>	schooner	563	captured off Charleston, S. C., 4 Aug.	36	from
Aquila	schooner	77		2	
Argyle	schooner	86.02	destroyed off Shallotte Inlet, N. C., 18 Nov.	4	for
Ariel	schooner			2	
Aries	steamer	740	captured off Charleston, S. C., 26 Apr.	2	for
Belle	sloop		captured off Elizabeth City, N. C., — Feb.	—	—
Black Warrior	schooner			2	
Bonita [Economist]	steamer	338		2	
Brave	sloop	17		2	
British Queen	schooner		captured off Wilmington, N. C., 1 Mar.		for
Cambria <sup>13</sup>	steamer		captured off Charleston, S. C., 26 May	15	for
Carolina [Kate]	steamer	483	wrecked and lost off Wilmington, N. C.		—
Caroline Virginia	schooner		wrecked and lost off Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.	3	—
Carrie Sanford	schooner			2	
Catawba	steamer	407			from
Catherina	schooner		captured off Charleston, S. C., 20 June	12	for
Cecilia <sup>14</sup>	steamer	360 19/95	lost off Abaco enroute to Charleston, S. C., 17 June	1	for
Celestina	schooner			1	
Chance [Emma Julia]	schooner			6	
Charleston [Alert]	schooner				
Chase	schooner		captured off Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.	2	—
Clifton	schooner				
Colonel McRae	schooner		captured Newtogan Creek, N. C., 10 Apr.	2	—
Comet	schooner				
Conway	schooner		captured off Charleston, S. C., 3 Apr.	1	for
Coquette	sloop		captured off Charleston, S. C., 31 May	2	for
Cora	schooner			1	
Cornubia [Lady Davis]	steamer	259.23		2	
Courier	schooner		captured off Roanoke Island, N. C., — Feb.		—
Curlw	steamer		captured off Charleston, S. C., 13 Oct.	1	for
David Crockett	schooner		captured off Georgetown, S. C., 15 Apr.		from
Dixie	schooner				

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Carolina Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Doors</i>						1
<i>Economist</i> [Bonita]	schooner	338		sunk Bull's Bay, S. C., 14 Feb.	from	
<i>Edisto</i>	steamer			sunk Morris Island, — May	for	3
<i>Edwin</i>	schooner			captured off Charleston, S. C., 21 Aug.	for	1
<i>Eliza</i>	schooner					1
<i>Eliza Ann</i>	schooner			captured off Charleston, S. C., 29 May	for	4
<i>Elizabeth</i> [General Miramon]	steamer			sunk Bull's Bay, S. C., 14 Feb.	—	
<i>Elizabeth</i>	schooner	196		captured off coast of N. C., 22 May	for	3
<i>Ella</i> [Ella Fleming, Peep O'Day]	brig					
<i>Ella D.</i>	schooner	196		captured Lat. 28° N., Long. 97° W., 25 Apr.	for	3
<i>Ella Fleming</i> [Ella, Peep O'Day]	brig	1115		captured Roanoke Island, N. C., — Feb.	—	
<i>Ella Warley</i> [Isabel]	steamer			captured Bull's Bay, 7 July	for	2
<i>Ellis</i>	steamer			burned off Wilmington, N. C., 26 June	for	1
<i>Emilie</i> [William Seabrook]	steamer					
<i>Emily</i>	schooner					
<i>Emily St. Pierre</i> [Anna Helen]	ship					
<i>Emma Julia</i> [Chance]	schooner					
<i>Emma Tuttle</i>	schooner					
<i>Eothen</i>	schooner					
<i>Etiwan</i>	bark	325		captured New Inlet, N. C., 3 Nov.	for	1
<i>Etta</i> [Retribution]	schooner	150		captured Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.	—	2
<i>Eugenia</i>	schooner				—	
<i>Eva Bell</i>	schooner			captured off North Carolina coast, 20 May	—	7
<i>Evelyn</i> [Victoria, H. E. Vincent]	schooner	85-75		captured Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.	—	2
<i>Experiment</i> [Providence]	schooner	66 33/95		captured off Charleston, S. C., 29 May	for	
<i>Fairplay</i>	schooner			captured off Georgetown, S. C., 12 Mar.	for	
<i>Fannie Laurie</i> [Fanny Lowery]	schooner			captured off South Edisto, S. C., 4 Sept.	for	
<i>Fannie Paine</i>	bark					1
<i>Fanny</i>	schooner			captured off Roanoke Island, N. C., — Feb.	—	
<i>Fanny Lewis</i>	steamer	273	7	wrecked off Wilmington, N. C.	for	
<i>Fanny Lowery</i> [Fannie Laurie]	brig					
<i>Flash</i>	bark					
<i>Forrest</i>	schooner			captured off Charleston, S. C., 2 May	for	
<i>Garibaldi</i> [Rowena]	steamer	85		destroyed off Roanoke Island, N. C., — Feb.	—	
<i>General C. C. Pinckney</i>	schooner	38		captured in Stono River, S. C.	—	
<i>General Miramon</i> [Elizabeth]	schooner			captured at sea, 6 May	from	3
<i>Geo. Chisolm</i>	steamer	85				
<i>Geo. Washington</i>	schooner			captured Potecay Creek, N. C., 17 Mar.	—	1
<i>G. H. Smoot</i>	schooner					1
<i>Giraffe</i> [R. E. Lee]	steamer	960-99	68			1

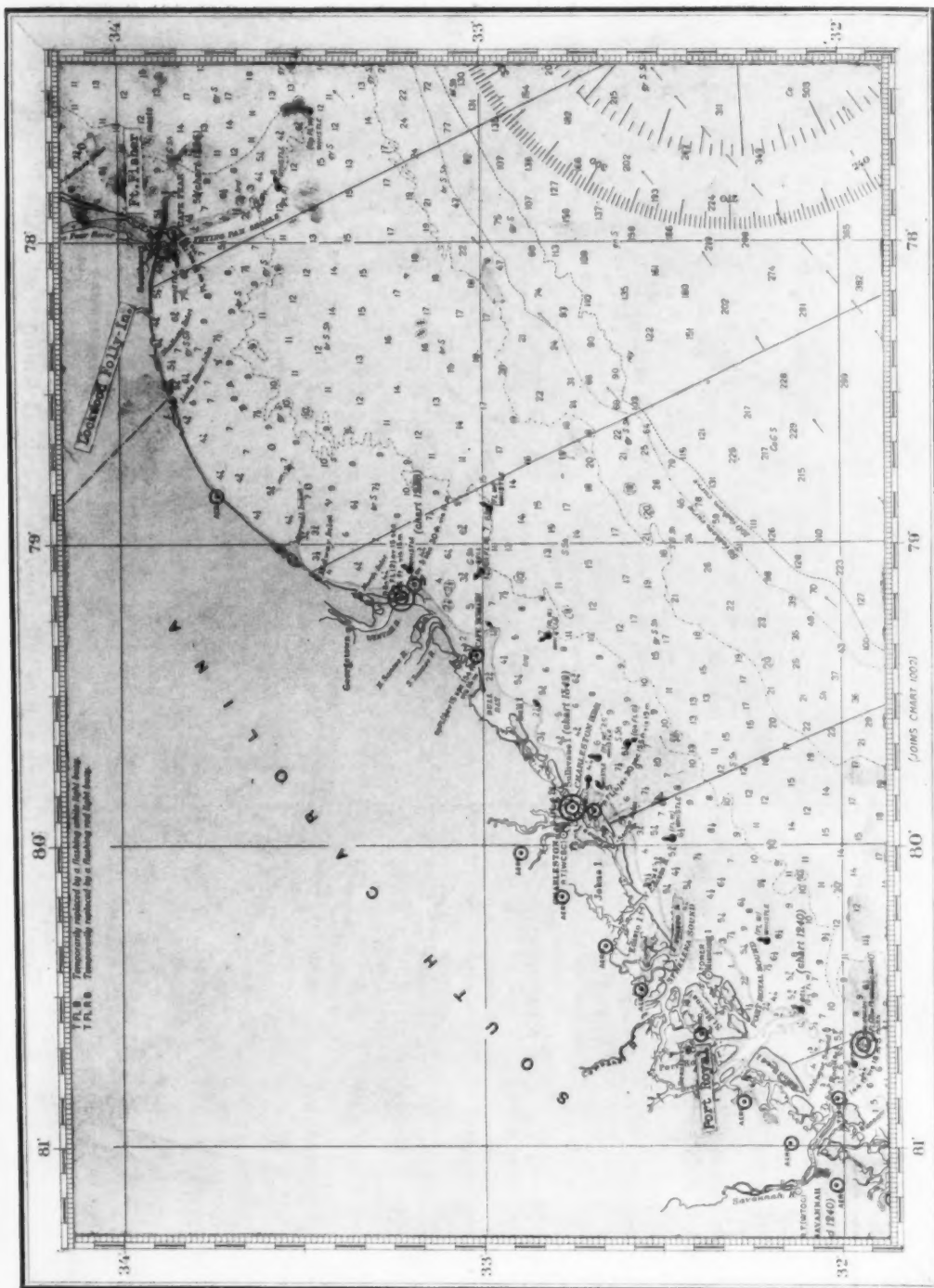






Coast of North Carolina from Wilmington to Currituck Sound

Adapted from United States Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart Number 1001, Chesapeake Bay to Straits of Florida, Edition of February 1947. Furnished by Cartographic Records Branch, Natural Resources Records Division, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.



Coast of South Carolina and North Carolina from Savannah River to Cape Fear

Adapted from United States Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart Number 1001, Chesapeake Bay to Straits of Florida, Edition of February 1947. Furnished by Cartographic Records Branch, Natural Resources Records Division, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Governor Dudley [Velly] is  
 Grapshot [Agnes Louisa]  
 Guide  
 Harkaway  
 Harriet and Sarah

captured off Charleston, S. C., 19 Apr.

from

# SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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Ship Name	Type	Weight/Tonnage	Event	Date	Location	Notes
Governor Dudley [Sally] <sup>10</sup>	steamer					
Grapeshot [Agnes Louisa]	steamer					
Guide	schooner					
Harkaway	schooner					
Harriet and Sarah	schooner					
Harriet Lowndes	schooner					
Herald [Antonica]	steamer	563				
Herolt	steamer	900				
Hetiwan [Hetiwan]	schooner					
H. E. Vincent [Evelyn, Victoria]	schooner	85.75				
Intended	brig					
Irene	schooner					
Isabel [Ella Warley]	steamer	1115				
James Norcon	schooner					
Jeff Davis	sloop					
J. C. Rozer	schooner					
J. J. Crittenden	schooner					
Joanna Ward	schooner					
John	schooner					
John Fraser	ship	906				
John Ravenel	ship	700 14/95				
John Thompson	sloop					
Josephine Rosa	schooner					
Julia	schooner					
Julia Dean	schooner					
Julia Marshall	schooner					
Julia Worden	schooner	62 35/95				
Julie Usher [Annie Childs, T. D.]	steamer					
Wagner, Victory, North Carolina	schooner	618.31				
Kate	steamer					
Kate [Carolina]	schooner	483				
LaGrilla [Nora]	steamer	259.23				
Lady Davis [Cornubia]	schooner	29 92/95				
Laura [Soleta] <sup>18</sup>	steamer					
Lavinia	schooner	862				
Leopard [Stonewall Jackson]	steamer					
Levi Rowe	schooner	265				
Lilla [Mary Wright]	brig					
Lion	schooner					
Liverpool	sloop					
Lizzie	schooner					
Lizzie Taylor	sloop					
Lloyds [Sea Queen]	steamer	743				

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Carolina Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
Louisa	schooner			captured off Charleston, S. C., 23 Aug.	for	10
Louisa Mary	schooner					1
Lucy C. Holmes	schooner			captured 27 May	from	1
Lynnhaven	schooner			captured off Elizabeth City, N. C., - Feb.	---	
Mabel	schooner					1
Mackinaw	ship	1094				1
Maggie Fulton	schooner					1
Maria	schooner					1
Mariner	steamer			captured off Charleston, S. C., 30 Apr.	for	2
Mary Elizabeth	schooner			captured off Wilmington, N. C., 24 Aug.	for	2
Mary Scatfe	brig					
Mary Stewart	schooner			captured in Santee River, S. C., 3 June	for	1
Mary Teresa	schooner			captured off Charleston, S. C., 10 May	for	
Mary Wright [Lilla]	brig	265				
Memphis	steamer	791		captured at sea, 31 July	from	1
Mercho	schooner			captured Lat. 31° N., Long. 79° W., 26 Apr.	for	
Modern Greece	steamer	253.61		destroyed off Charleston, S. C.	for	4
Morning Star	steamer	700 (approx.)		destroyed off Ft. Fisher, N. C., 27 June	for	1
Morrison	schooner			captured off Frying Pan Shoals, 27 June	for	2
Napier	brig					
Napoleon	steamer			captured off Wilmington, N. C., 29 July	from	
Nashville [Thos. L. Wragg, Rattle- snake]	schooner			captured off Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.		
Nassau [Theodora, Gordon]	steamer	1229				8
Nathaniel Taylor	steamer	578	28	captured Pasquotank River, N. C., 8 Apr.	---	
Nelia Conert	schooner					2
Nelly [Governor Dudley]	schooner					
Nina	steamer	338				2
Nora [LaCriolla]	steamer					
North Carolina [Annie Childs, T. D. Wagner, Victory, Julie Usher]	schooner					
Old North State	steamer			captured off Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.	---	
Ouachita	steamer			captured off Carolina coast, 14 Oct.	for	
Palma	schooner			captured off Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.	---	
P. A. Sanders	schooner			captured off Newbern, N. C., 14 Mar.	---	
Patras	steamer	350		captured off Charleston, S. C., 24 May	for	4
Patriot	steamer					
Peep O'Day [Ella, Ella Fleming]	brig	196				
Pocotaligo [Prince Alfred]	steamer	236				
Post Boy	schooner			captured 14 Mar.	---	
Pride	schooner					
Prince Alfred [Pocotaligo]	schooner	286				



### SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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35-	1	2	3	4
Patriot	196			
Peep O'Day [Ella, Ella Fleming]				
Pocotaligo [Prince Alfred]	236			
Post Boy				
Pride				
Prince Alfred [Pocotaligo]	236			
Providence [Experiment]	66			
Prince of Wales	33/95			
P. S. Brooks	60			
Racer				
Rattlesnake [Nashville, Thos. L. Wragg]	1229			
Rebecca				
Retribution [Ella]	150			
Revere				
Rising Sun				
Robert Bruce	181.94			
R. E. Lee [Giraffe]	360.39			
Rosalie	29			
Rosalind				
Rowena [Garibaldi]	85			
Rutherford [Rutherford]				
Sallie Rose				
Sarah				
Sarah H. Falconer	73			
Scotia <sup>19</sup>	47/95			
Scuppernong	462			
Sea Bird				
Sea Queen [Lloyds]				
Sereta				
Soleta [Laura]	29			
Sir Robert Peel	92/95			
Sophia	375			
Stettin				
Stonewall Jackson [Leopard]	862			
Sue				
Sunbeam				
Susan Ann Howard				
Susan McPherson				
T. D. Wagner [Annie Childs, Victory, Julie Usher, North Carolina]	618.31			
Theodora [Gordon, Nassau]	578			
Thos. L. Wragg [Nashville, Rattlesnake]	1229			

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Tubal Cain</i> <sup>21</sup>	steamer	194		captured Lat. 32° N., Long. 78° 14' W., 24 July	for	
<i>Victoria</i> [Evelyn, H. E. Vincent]	schooner	85-75				
<i>Victory</i> [Annie Childs, T. D. Wagoner, Julie Usher, North Carolina]	steamer	618-31	38	captured off Georgetown, S. C., 2 July	for	
<i>Volante</i>	schooner			sunk in Bull's Bay, 14 Feb.	---	
<i>Wandoo</i>	schooner			captured off Georgetown, S. C., 19 Apr.	from	
<i>Wave</i>	schooner					
<i>William Seabrook</i> [Emilie]	steamer			captured Hamilton, N. C., 9 July	---	
<i>Wilson</i>	steamer			captured Keel's Creek, N. C., 21 May	for	1
<i>Winter Shrub</i>	schooner	65	67/95			4
<i>W. Y. Leitch</i>	schooner					1
<i>Zaidee</i>	schooner					
<i>Zeitika</i>	steamer					

## Summary for 1862:

Vessels engaged in the business:

Number of runs attempted:

Successful runs:

Unsuccessful runs:

Percentage of successful runs:

steamers 45, sailing vessels 145, total 190  
 steamers 124, sailing vessels 252, total 376  
 steamers 96, sailing vessels 161, total 257  
 steamers 28, sailing vessels 91, total 119  
 steamers 77%, sailing vessels 64%, all types 68%

## III. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1863

<i>Adeline</i>	schooner					1
<i>Ad-Vance</i>						
<i>A. D. Vance</i>	steamer	902	55		from	7
<i>Advance</i> [Lord Clyde]	schooner					1
<i>Alexander Cooper</i>	steamer	803	42	captured off Charleston, S. C., 8 May	from	16
<i>Alice</i> [Sirius]	schooner	29	6	captured at sea, 16 May	from	3
<i>Amelia</i>	sloop	14	4			1
<i>Angelina</i>	steamer	437	39	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 25 Feb.	for	13
<i>Anna</i> [Flora]	schooner					
<i>Annie</i>						
<i>Annie Childs</i> [Victory, T. D. Wagoner, Julie Usher, North Carolina]	steamer	618-31	43	captured Lat. 25° N., Long. 75° W., 21 June	from	6
<i>Antelope</i>	schooner			captured off South Carolina coast, 31 Mar.	for	
<i>Antonica</i> [Herald]	steamer	563	36	run ashore near Wilmington, N. C., 20 Dec.	for	16
<i>Arabian</i> <sup>22</sup>	steamer			destroyed off Wilmington, N. C., 15 Sept.	---	3
<i>Atlantic</i> [Elizabeth] <sup>23</sup>	steamer	740		captured near Folly Inlet, — Oct.	for	6
<i>Aurelia</i>	steamer	687	31	destroyed off Lockwood's Folly Inlet, — Oct.	for	6
<i>Austin</i> [Ella and Annie] <sup>24</sup>	sloop	33				1
<i>Banshee</i>	steamer	905	53	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 9 Nov.	for	10
	steamer	927	58	captured off Beaufort, N. C., 21 Nov.	for	10

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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Ship	Tonnage	Men	Notes	Destination
Antelope	563	36	run ashore near Wilmington, N. C., 20 Dec.	for
Antonica [Herald]	740	31	destroyed off Wilmington, N. C., 15 Sept.	3
Arabian <sup>22</sup>	687	31	destroyed off Lockwood's Folly Inlet, — Oct.	for
Atlantic [Elizabeth] <sup>23</sup>	33	53	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 9 Nov.	for
Aurelia	905	38	captured off Beaufort, N. C., 21 Nov.	for
Austin [Ella and Annie] <sup>24</sup>	325	178 (approx.)	captured off coast of N. C., 23 June	—
Banshee	100	36	captured off Eleuthera Island, 25 June	from
Bendigo	630	42	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 11 June	for
Bellie Cralzer	300	22	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 6 Dec.	for
Briannia	222.43	22	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 11 July	1
Brylpsa	63 88/95	31	captured off Charleston, S. C., 7 May	5
Ceres	206.29	25	captured at sea, 22 Mar.	2
Charleston	327.20	32	captured off New Inlet, 8 Nov.	3
Charlotte	426	32	captured Lat. 27° N., Long. 76° W., 16 Aug.	1
Cherokee [Thistle] <sup>25</sup>	67	44	captured off Charleston, S. C., 16 May	3
City of Dundee [Granite City]	259.23	44	captured off Wilmington, N. C., — Apr.	7
City of Petersburg	215	43	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 5 Nov.	2
Confederacy	285	46	captured Lat. 33° N., Long. 77° W., 9 Mar.	10
Cornubia [Lady Davis]	185.28	24	burned, New Inlet, 11 Oct.	18
Corsica	230	29	captured Lat. 25° N., Long. 77° W., 18 May	3
Cronstadt	687	31	captured off Fort Fisher, N. C., 10 Nov.	6
C. Ronterean	75	5	captured off Masonborough Inlet, 26 Nov.	1
Dee	124	53	captured at sea, 16 May	2
Despatch	905	4	captured Lat. 33° N., Long. 76° W., 21 July	14
Dolphin	35	31	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 27 Jan., but recap- tured	12
Don	191	42	captured off South Carolina coast, 4 May	2
Douglas [Margaret and Jessie] <sup>26</sup>	297	41		1
Douro <sup>27</sup>	85.75	20		2
Duro	20	803		14
Eagle	727	27		2
Elizabeth [Atlantic]				
Elizabeth				
Ella				
Ella				
Ella and Annie [Austin]				
Emeline				
Emma				
Emma Tuttle				
Eugenie				
Evelyn [H. E. Vincent, Victoria]				
Express				
Fannie [Orion] <sup>28</sup>				
Fanny and Jenny <sup>29</sup> [Scotia, General Banks]				
Ilirt				

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Carolina Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Flora</i> [Anna]	steamer	437	39			1
<i>Flora</i> <sup>30</sup>	steamer	571	50	burned, Bear Inlet, S. C., after cargo landed, — Dec.	for	8
<i>G. A. Bigelow</i>	schooner					1
<i>Gem</i>	steamer					2
<i>General Banks</i> [Fanny and Jennie, Scotia]	steamer	727	27			
<i>General Beauregard</i> [Havelock] <sup>31</sup>	steamer	824	47	destroyed off Wilmington, N. C., 12 Dec.	from	13
<i>General Moultrie</i>	steamer	330.50	34	wrecked and sunk off Charleston, S. C., 19 Mar.	for	3
<i>Georgia</i> [Georgiana]	steamer	580		captured off Eleuthera Island, 16 Apr.	for	3
<i>Georgiana</i> [Georgia]	steamer	580			for	4
<i>Gertrude</i>	steamer	438		captured off Wilmington, N. C., 9 Nov.	for	21
<i>Gibraltar</i>	steamer	360.39	60	destroyed Murrell's Inlet, S. C., 27 Apr.	for	2
<i>Giraffe</i> [R. E. Lee]	steamer	498	30			
<i>Gladiator</i>	steamer	327.20	25			
<i>Golden Liner</i>	schooner	257				
<i>Granite City</i> [City of Dundee]	steamer	25				
<i>Hansa</i>	schooner	113.35	7	captured, coast of N. C., 21 June	from	11
<i>Harvest</i>	steamer	824	47	destroyed off New Inlet, N. C., 18 Aug.	for	1
<i>Hattie</i>	steamer	563	36	captured off Frying Pan Shoals, 23 Oct.	for	2
<i>Havelock</i> [General Beauregard]	schooner	900		captured off Charleston, S. C., 21 Jan.	from	2
<i>Hebe</i>	steamer	85.75				
<i>Herald</i> [Antonica]	steamer	323		burned off Charleston, S. C., 18 Jan.	from	2
<i>Herald</i>	steamer	247				
<i>Hero</i> <sup>32</sup>	steamer	483				
<i>Hetewan</i>	steamer	12				
<i>H. E. Vincent</i> [Evelyn, Victoria]	schooner	259.23	44	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 22 Sept.	for	3
<i>Horsa</i>	steamer	868	32	captured off Lockwood's Folly Inlet, 1 Aug.	for	2
<i>Huntress</i> [Tropic]	steamer	12	3			
<i>Isaac P. Smith</i> [Stono]	sloop					
<i>Jas. R. Pringle</i>	ship					
<i>J. C. Manson</i>	steamer					
<i>Julie Usher</i> [Annie Childs, North Carolina, T. D. Wagner, Victory]	steamer	618.31	43			
<i>Juno</i>	steamer	247				
<i>Kate</i> [H]	steamer	483				
<i>Kate</i>	sloop	12				
<i>Kent</i>	ship					
<i>Lady Davis</i> [Cornubia]	steamer	259.23	44			
<i>Leopard</i> [Stonewall Jackson]	steamer	868				
<i>Lizzie</i>	steamer	124.70	16	ran aground and burned off Charleston, S. C., 11 Apr.	for	3
<i>Lucy</i>	steamer	380.37	32	captured Lat. 27° N., Long. 75° W., 15 July	for	3
<i>Magnolia</i>	steamer	56.66	7			
<i>Major E. Willis</i>	schooner	74	7	captured off Charleston, S. C., 19 Apr.	from	1
<i>Margaret and Jessie</i> [Douglas]	steamer	732	46	captured at sea 17 May		
<i>Maria Bishop</i>	schooner					



# SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

231

Ship Name	Type	Number	Notes	From	Count
<i>Lady Davis</i> [Columbia]	steamer	259-3	ran aground and burned off Charleston, S. C., 11 Apr.	for	3
<i>Leopard</i> [Stonewall Jackson]	steamer	862	captured Lat. 27° N., Long. 75° W., 15 July	for	3
<i>Lucy</i>	steamer	124-70			1
<i>Magnolia</i>	steamer	360-37			1
<i>Major E. Willis</i>	schooner	56-66			4
<i>Margaret and Jessie</i> [Douglas]	schooner	74			7
<i>Maria Bishop</i>	steamer	732			46
<i>Mariner</i>	schooner				
<i>Mary Anne</i>	steamer				1
<i>Mary Jane</i>	schooner				4
<i>Mercury</i>	sloop				
<i>Merrimac</i>	steamer				6
<i>Minna</i>	brig	634 70/95			
<i>Minna</i>	brig	615			
<i>Minnie</i>	sloop				
<i>Nellie</i>	sloop	31			2
<i>Neptune</i>	sloop	59			1
<i>Nicolai</i> 133	steamer	415			
<i>Nora</i>	yacht				1
<i>Norsman</i>	steamer	197			1
<i>North Carolina</i> [Annie Childs, Julie Usher, T. D. Wagner, Victory]	steamer	618-31			
<i>Odd Fellow</i>	schooner	24-30			1
<i>Orion</i> [Fannie]	steamer	803			
<i>Pearl</i>	steamer	72-17			
<i>Pet</i>	steamer	171-16			14
<i>Phantom</i>	steamer	266			2
<i>Pride</i>	schooner				2
<i>Princess Royal</i>	steamer				
<i>Queen of the Wave</i>	steamer				
<i>Raccoon</i>	steamer	458			2
<i>Renshaw</i>	schooner				
<i>Rising Dawn</i>	schooner				
<i>R. E. Lee</i> [Giraffe]	steamer	360-39			1
<i>Rosalie</i>	sloop	29			2
<i>Rosalind</i>	bark	152-43			2
<i>Rover</i>	schooner				6
<i>Ruby</i>	steamer	400			
<i>Sallie</i>	schooner				
<i>Scotia</i> [Fanny and Jenny, General Banks]	steamer	727			2
<i>Seresh</i>	sloop	44			
<i>Sirius</i> [Alice]	steamer	803			1
<i>Slidell</i>	schooner	80			2
<i>Spaulding</i>	steamer	287			

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Carolina Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Spunkie</i>	steamer				—	6
<i>St. George</i>	schooner	104	9	captured off Fort Fisher, N. C., 22 Apr.		2
<i>Stonewall Jackson [Leopard]</i>	steamer	862				
<i>Stono [Isaac P. Smith]</i>	steamer	506	25			
<i>Sue</i>	schooner			captured Little River Inlet, N. C., 30 Mar.	for	4
<i>Syren</i>	steamer	319 81/95	45			
<i>T. D. Wagner [Annie Childs, Julie Usher, North Carolina, Victory]</i>	steamer	618.31	43			
<i>Thisle [Cherokee]</i>	steamer	206.29	31			
<i>Time</i>	schooner			captured off New Inlet, N. C., 23 Jan.	for	
<i>Tropic [Huntress]</i>	steamer	323		wrecked, New Inlet, N. C., 21 Oct.	for	11
<i>Venus</i>	steamer	365.74	53			
<i>Victoria [Evelyn, H. E. Vincen]</i>	schooner	85.75				
<i>Victory [Annie Childs, Julie Usher, North Carolina, T. D. Wagner]</i>	steamer	618.31	43	destroyed North Santee, S. C., 25 Feb.	for	
<i>Wave Queen</i>	steamer	464				
<i>Whisper</i>	steamer			captured off Port Royal, S. C., 13 May	—	2
<i>Wonder</i>	schooner			captured Lat. 26° N., Long. 76° W.	—	
<i>W. Y. Leitch</i>	schooner	65 67/95				

## Summary for 1863:

Vessels engaged in the business:

Number of runs attempted:

Successful runs:

Unsuccessful runs:

Percentage of successful runs:

steamers 73, sailing vessels 55, total 128  
 steamers 433, sailing vessels 82, total 515  
 steamers 390, sailing vessels 46, total 436  
 steamers 43, sailing vessels 96, total 79  
 steamers 90%, sailing vessels 56%, all types 84%

## IV. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1864

<i>Ad-Vance</i>	steamer	902	55	captured at sea, 10 Sept.	from	6
<i>Advance</i>						
<i>A. D. Vance [Lord Clyde]</i>	steamer	345				16
<i>Agnes C. Frey [Fox]</i>	steamer	1000 (approx.)				4
<i>Agnes E. Fry</i>	steamer			wrecked on Hog Island between 4 and 24 Sept.		6
<i>Agnes Louisa [Grapeshot]</i>	steamer	800	57			4
<i>Alfred [Old Dominion]</i>	steamer	803	42			5
<i>Alice [Sirius]</i>	steamer	437	39			3
<i>Anna [Flora]</i>	steamer			wrecked off New Inlet, N. C., 31 Oct.	from	4
<i>Armstrong</i>	steamer			destroyed near Cape Fear, 7 Oct.	from	
<i>Arrow</i>	steamer			captured Lat. 32° N., Long. 77° W., 4 Dec.	from	
<i>Atlanta [Chameleon]</i>	steamer	253		captured Gatesville, N. C., 28 July	from	
<i>Badger</i>	steamer	699		wrecked trying to enter Wilmington, N. C.		

# SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

233

Ship Name	Type	Tonnage	Disposition	Lat. Long.	From	Count
Alice [Sirius]	steamer	803	destroyed off New Inlet, N. C., 21 Oct.		from	4
Anna [Flora]	steamer	437	captured Lat. 32° N., Long. 77° W., 4 Dec.		from	5
Arrow	steamer		captured Gatesville, N. C., 28 July		from	3
Atlanta [Chameleon]	steamer	253	wrecked trying to enter Wilmington, N. C., 10 Sept.		for	4
Badger	steamer	623	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 10 Oct.		for	2
Banshee (II)	steamer	628	destroyed off Charleston, S. C., 27 Nov.		for	5
Bat	steamer	325	burned off Wilmington, N. C., 3 Jan.		---	2
Beatrice	steamer	200 (approx.)				
Bendigo	steamer	178 (approx.)				
Bijou [Mary Celestia]	steamer	307	captured off Plymouth, N. C., 5 May		---	4
Blenheim	steamer		captured off Wilmington, N. C., 8 July		for	4
Bombshell	steamer		captured at sea, 30 May		for	
Boston	steamer	415				2
Caledonia <sup>23</sup>	steamer	196				1
Caroline	steamer	253				2
Celt	steamer	217				
Chameleon [Atlanta]	steamer	206-29	captured Lat. 32° 38' N., Long. 75° 55' W., 9 June		for	11
Charleston [Druid]	steamer	740				1
Chase	schooner	426				4
Cherokee [Thistle]	steamer	1788				8
Chicora [Let Her B, Let Her Be]	steamer	386				11
City of Petersburg	steamer	163	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 6 May		from	2
Colonel Lamb	steamer	300	driven ashore and wrecked off Charleston, S. C., 5 Oct.		for	1
Confederate States [Laurel]	steamer	179-46				14
Conqueror [Young Republic]	steamer	215	captured off Charleston, S. C., 12 June		from	1
Constance	steamer	255	chased ashore, wrecked and burned off Georgetown, S. C., 7 Jan.		for	1
Coquette	steamer	217	destroyed near Masonborough Inlet, 6 Feb.		for	1
Coquette	steamer	237	captured off Beaufort, N. C., 4 Mar.		for	2
Cyclops	steamer	124				2
Dare	sloop		run ashore on Bald Head Beach near Wilmington, N. C., 3 Dec.		for	4
Dec	steamer	253	captured at sea, 5 Sept.		from	1
Don	steamer		run ashore and destroyed off Masonborough Inlet, 10 Feb.		for	
Druid [Charleston]	steamer	300 (approx.)				1
Edith	steamer	803				4
Ella	steamer					2
Elsie	steamer					
Emily	steamer					
Emma Henry	steamer					
Evelyn	steamer					
Falcon	steamer					
Fannie [Orion]	steamer					

## SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Carolina Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Fanny and Jenny</i> [Scotia, General Banks]	steamer	727	27	destroyed off New Inlet, 10 Feb.	for	1
<i>Flirt</i>	sloop					
<i>Flora</i> [Anna]	steamer	437	39	destroyed off Charleston, S. C., 22 Oct.	for	
<i>Floras</i>	steamer	571	50	lost at sea en route to Halifax, Nova Scotia, for repairs, 11 Jan.		8
<i>Florie</i>	steamer	215		destroyed off Wilmington, N. C., 10 Sept.	for	8
<i>Fox</i> [Agnes C. Frey]	steamer	345				
<i>General Banks</i> [Fanny and Jennie, Scotia]	steamer	727	27			
<i>General Clinch</i>	steamer					2
<i>General Whiting</i>	steamer	225 61/95		destroyed off Wilmington, N. C., 2 June	for	6
<i>Georgiana McCaw</i>	steamer	700				
<i>Grapeshot</i> [Agnes Louisa]	steamer					1
<i>Greyhound</i>	steamer	290		captured at sea, 10 May	—	5
<i>Hansa</i>	steamer	257				1
<i>Hawk</i>	steamer					
<i>Helen</i> [Juno]	steamer	874	31	lost at sea, 10 Mar.	from	
<i>Helen</i>	steamer	342				5
<i>Helen</i>	steamer	234				2
<i>Hope</i>	bark	1492	50	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 22 Oct.	for	6
<i>Index</i>	steamer	363				2
<i>Indian</i>	steamer			captured at sea, 10 April	for	
<i>Julia</i>	schooner	276.13		captured off Charleston, S. C., 23 Dec.	from	2
<i>Juno</i> [Helen]	steamer	874				
<i>Kate Gregg</i> [Stag]	steamer	314.7				4
<i>Lady of Lyons</i> [Syren]	steamer	319 81/95	45	captured off Wilmington, N. C., 28 Oct.	—	23
<i>Lady Sterling</i>	steamer					1
<i>Laurel</i> [Confederate States]	steamer	386				
<i>Let Her B</i> [Let Her Be, Chicora]	steamer	740	49			
<i>Let Her Rip</i> [Victoria, Let Her Rip, Wando]	steamer					
<i>Lillian</i>	steamer	220		captured Lat. 33° 5' N., Long. 76° 40' W., 21 Oct.	from	3
<i>Little Ada</i>	steamer	475		captured at sea, 24 Aug.	from	4
<i>Little Hatlie</i>	steamer	94		captured at sea, 9 July	for	2
<i>Little Scotia</i> [Scotia]	steamer	246				5
<i>Lord Clyde</i> [Advance, Ad-Vance, A. D. Vance]	steamer			captured Lat. 32° 34' N., Long. 77° 18' W., 1 March	from	5
<i>Lucy</i>	steamer	902	55			
<i>Lucy</i>	steamer	300.37	32	captured Lat. 32° 40' N., Long. 77° 48' W., 2 Nov.	from	10
<i>Lucy</i>	steamer	238		destroyed off New Inlet, 25 Sept.	—	2
<i>Mary</i> [Prince Albert]	steamer	116	31	sunk off Charleston, S. C., 9 Aug.	for	2
<i>Mary</i>	schooner			captured, Lat. 32° N., Long. 78° W., 3 Dec.	from	1
<i>Mary</i>	sloop	62 38/95		captured off Wilmington, N. C., 6 Mar.		1



# SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

235

Ship Name	Type	Tonnage	Disposition	Date	From	Count
A. D. Vance	steamer	300.37	captured Lat. 32° 40' N., Long. 77° 48' W., 2 Nov.	1862	from	10
Lucy	steamer	238	destroyed off New Inlet, 25 Sept.	1862	from	2
Mary [Prince Albert]	steamer	116	sunk off Charleston, S. C., 9 Aug.	1862	for	2
Mary	schooner		captured, Lat. 32° N., Long. 78° W., 3 Dec.	1862	from	1
Mary Anne	sloop	62 38/95				1
Mary Bowers	steamer		captured off Wilmington, N. C., 6 Mar.	1862	from	1
Mary Celestia [Bijou]	steamer		wrecked and sunk off Charleston, S. C., 30 Aug.		for	
Minnie	steamer	207	captured, Lat. 34° N., Long. 75° 28' W., 9 May		from	1
M. O'Neill	steamer	253	captured off Washington, N. C., 5 May		---	
Night Hawk	schooner		destroyed off Wilmington, N. C., 29 Sept.		for	
North Heath	steamer	300	loaded with stone by Confederates and sunk in the channel at Wilmington, N. C.		---	
Nutfield	steamer	750	destroyed New River Inlet, 4 Feb.		for	1
Old Dominion [Alfred]	steamer	800				
Orion [Fannie]	steamer	803				
Owl	steamer	330				
Pet	steamer	171.16				5
Petrel	steamer		captured off Lockwood's Folly Inlet, N. C., 15 Feb.		for	
Pevensey	steamer	543	destroyed off New Inlet, N. C., 15 Dec.		for	3
Pocotaligo [Prince Alfred]	schooner	236	blown up off Wilmington, N. C., 9 June		for	
Pocohontas	schooner					2
Presto	steamer		captured off Charleston, S. C., 8 July		from	
Prince Albert [Mary]	steamer	116	beached and burned off Charleston, S. C., 2 Feb.		for	2
Prince Alfred [Pocotaligo]	schooner					
Racer	sloop					
Ranger	steamer	400	captured off Bull's Bay, 2 Aug.		---	
Rose	steamer		destroyed off Lockwood's Folly Inlet, 11 Jan.		for	
Rothsay Castle	steamer	177.02	beached and destroyed off Georgetown, S. C., 2 June		for	
Rouen	steamer					2
Rover	steamer		captured, Lat. 32° 50' N., Long. 75° 40' W., 2 July		---	
Scolia [Fanny and Jenny, General Banks]	steamer	727				2
Scolia [Little Scotia]	steamer					
Sirius [Alice]	steamer	803	wrecked, Fort Caswell, N. C., 16 Feb.		---	
Spunkie	steamer					
Stag [Kate Gregg]	steamer	314.7				
Stag	steamer	900				
Stormy Petrel	steamer		beached and destroyed off Wilmington, N. C., 9 Dec.		from	4
Swallow	sloop		captured off Elbow light, 20 Mar.		for	1
Swift	schooner		captured 9 Feb.			2
Syren [Lady of Lyons]	steamer	319 81/95				3
Talisman	steamer					
Thistle [Cherokee]	steamer	206.29	captured Lat. 34° 6' N., Long. 77° 27' W., 15 May		from	1
Tristram Shandy	steamer					

# SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

Bound  
for or from  
Carolina  
Port  
for

Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed  
wrecked between Tubb's River and Little Inlet,  
N. C., 7 Jan.

Type  
Tons  
Crew

NAME OF VESSEL  
*Vesta*  
*Victoria, Let Her Rip [Let Her  
Rip, Wando]*  
*Virginia*  
*Vixen*  
*Vulture*  
*Wando [Let Her Rip, Victoria, Let  
Her Rip]*  
*Wild Dayrell*  
*Wild Rover*  
*Will O' The Wish*  
*Young Republic [Conqueror]*

5

2

for

captured Lat. 32° N., Long. 78° W., 1 Dec.

26

220

steamer

steamer

220

215

28

steamer

117

steamer

4

10

10

Summary for 1864:  
Vessels engaged in the business:  
Number of runs attempted:  
Successful runs:  
Unsuccessful runs:  
Percentage of successful runs:

steamers 98, sailing vessels 14, total 112  
steamers 967, sailing vessels 20, total 987  
steamers 311, sailing vessels 11, total 322  
steamers 56, sailing vessels 9, total 65  
steamers 85%, sailing vessels 55%, all types 89%

## V. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1865

2

1

1

2

1

1

4

1

1

2

*Agnes C. Frey [Fox]*

*Agnes E. Fry*

*Aid*

*Banshee [H]*

*Blenheim*

*Caroline*

*Cell*

*Charlotte*

*Chase*

*Chicora [Let Her B., Let Her Be]*

*City of Petersburg*

*Coquette*

*Golden Plant*

beached off Wilmington, N. C.

captured in Cape Fear River, N. C., 25 Jan.

stranded on Sullivan's Island off Charleston, S. C.,  
and captured 18 Feb.

captured in Cape Fear River, N. C., 19 Jan.

captured in Combahee River, S. C., 26 Jan.  
captured in Roanoke River, N. C.

captured in Roanoke River, N. C., 26 Jan.

# SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

237

City of Petersburg	captured in Roanoke River, N. C., 20 Jan.	1	1	1	1
Coquette	captured in Roanoke River, N. C., 18 Feb.	1	1	1	1
Cotton Plant	captured in Roanoke River, N. C., 18 Feb.	1	1	1	1
Dolly	sunk in Roanoke River, N. C.	1	1	1	1
Egypt Mills	captured in Roanoke River, N. C.,	1	1	1	1
Elvira	captured in Dewee's Inlet, S. C., - Feb.	1	1	1	1
Fisher	captured in Roanoke River, N. C.	1	1	1	1
Fox [Agnes C. Frey]		1	1	1	1
Hansa		1	1	1	1
Hawk		1	1	1	1
Lady Davis	captured Charleston, S. C., Harbor, 18 Feb.	1	1	1	1
Lady of Lyons [Syrén]	captured in Charleston, S. C., Harbor, 18 Feb.	1	1	1	1
Let Her Be [Chicora, Let Her B.]		1	1	1	1
Little Hattie		1	1	1	1
Philadelphia		1	1	1	1
Stag		1	1	1	1
Syrén [Lady of Lyons]		1	1	1	1
Triumph		1	1	1	1
Virginia		1	1	1	1
Wild Rover		1	1	1	1

Summary for 1865:  
 Vessels engaged in the business:  
 Number of runs attempted:  
 Successful runs:  
 Unsuccessful runs:  
 Percentage of successful runs:

Overall Summary, 1861-1865:  
 Number of runs attempted:  
 Successful runs:  
 Unsuccessful runs:  
 Percentage of successful runs:

steamers 24, sailing vessels 5, total 29  
 steamers 38, sailing vessels 5, total 43  
 steamers 25, sailing vessels 2, total 27  
 steamers 13, sailing vessels 3, total 16  
 steamers 66%, sailing vessels 40%, all types 63%

steamers 1093, sailing vessels 961, total 2054  
 steamers 953, sailing vessels 782, total 1735  
 steamers 140, sailing vessels 179, total 319  
 steamers 87%, sailing vessels 81%, all types 84%

- <sup>1</sup> Formerly ran between Charleston, S. C., and Palatka, Fla.
- <sup>2</sup> Formerly ran between Charleston, S. C., and Fernandina, Fla.
- <sup>3</sup> Formerly a slaver.
- <sup>4</sup> Formerly a Charleston, S. C.-Havana, Cuba, packet.
- <sup>5</sup> Formerly ran between Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga.
- <sup>6</sup> Formerly a U. S. revenue cutter at Charleston, S. C.
- <sup>7</sup> Formerly ran between Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga.
- <sup>8</sup> Formerly a pilot boat at Charleston.
- <sup>9</sup> Formerly ran between Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga.
- <sup>10</sup> Formerly in the Holyhead-Dublin mail service.
- <sup>11</sup> As *Victory* formerly ran between Wilmington and New York.
- <sup>12</sup> Formerly plied between Dublin and Glasgow.
- <sup>13</sup> Formerly ran between Liverpool and Carlisle.
- <sup>14</sup> Formerly ran between Charleston, S. C., and Fernandina, Fla.
- <sup>15</sup> Formerly a Belfast mail steamer that ran from that port to Glasgow.
- <sup>16</sup> Formerly ran between Charleston and Wilmington, and between Charleston and Havana, Cuba.
- <sup>17</sup> Formerly in the Baltic trade.
- <sup>18</sup> Built in N. C. in 1845.
- <sup>19</sup> Formerly in Dublin-Holyhead mail service.
- <sup>20</sup> Sold by U. S. under prize court proceedings, purchased by Confederates and put back in service. See *General Banks* and *Fanny and Jenny* in this tabular statement.
- <sup>21</sup> Formerly ran between Liverpool and Galway.
- <sup>22</sup> Formerly a Lake Ontario vessel, converted into an ocean-going steamer.
- <sup>23</sup> Formerly ran between New Orleans, Louisiana, and Galveston, Texas.
- <sup>24</sup> Formerly ran between New Orleans, Louisiana, and Galveston, Texas.
- <sup>25</sup> Previously engaged in the Londonderry trade.
- <sup>26</sup> Formerly Isle of Man Steam Packet Co. vessel.
- <sup>27</sup> Condemned by Prize Court, sold, purchased by Confederates and put back in the business as *Duoro*.
- <sup>28</sup> Formerly carried the mails between Lubeck and Cronstadt.
- <sup>29</sup> Captured under the name of *Scotia* (see table for 1862), condemned by Prize Court, sold, named *General Banks*, purchased by Confederates, named *Fanny and Jenny* and returned to the business.
- <sup>30</sup> Formerly ran between Bristol and Cork.
- <sup>31</sup> From the Dublin trade.
- <sup>32</sup> Sold for the New Zealand trade.
- <sup>33</sup> Formerly ran between Liverpool and Dublin; an old ship said to have been a prize to the English in the Crimean War.
- <sup>34</sup> Formerly ran between Glasgow and Rothesay.
- <sup>35</sup> Formerly ran between Bristol and Cork.
- <sup>36</sup> Formerly ran out of Galway.

## REFERENCES

I. *Records of the Department of State (U. S.) in the National Archives, Record Group No. 59:*

1. Despatches to Secretary of State from U. S. Consuls at Liverpool and Bristol, England, Nassau, New Providence, Hamilton, Bermuda, and Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1861-1866, and a few from the U. S. Consul-General at Havana, Cuba, and the U. S. Consuls at Glasgow, Scotland, and Barcelona, Spain, within the same period.

II. *General Records of the Department of the Treasury (U. S.) in the National Archives, Record Group No. 56:*1. *Cotton and Captured Property and Confederate States of America Records, 1861-1866:*

(a) Records of the Collectors of Customs (C. S. A.) for the Ports and Districts of Charleston, S. C., and Wilmington, N. C., from April 1861 until the fall of Wilmington and the evacuation of Charleston, in January and February 1865, respectively. (Not complete. Wilmington records are limited in their coverage and relate almost entirely to 1863.) These collectors' records include: registers of export duty on cotton; abstracts of duties collected; registers of goods, wares and merchandise imported; applications to clear; authorizations to clear; outward manifests; permits to unload; permits to be laden; abstracts of vessels entered and cleared; entries; invoices; reports and manifests; bills of sale and enrollments; certificates of registry (British and Confederate); certificates of inspection of hulls and steam boilers; accounts current; orders to appraisers; appraiser's reports; records of bonds given for cotton exported to foreign ports: ('Bond Book 2,' covering the period 20 November 1861-20 May 1862, and 'Bond Book 42,' showing bonds filed 21 May 1862-25 November 1864); weigher's returns; gauger's returns; measurer's returns; abstracts of light money; abstracts of duties on unclaimed goods, wares, and merchandise imported; reports and accounts of inspectors of customs; reports of business done; crew and passenger lists; and powers of attorney to sell vessels.

(b) Records of the Naval Officer at the Port of Charleston showing business done, and entrances and clearances at that Port, August 1861-February 1865. (Not complete.)

(c) Notebook of J. S. Lyon, a Treasury Department investigator, containing information obtained by him relative to blockade-running activities in the Carolinas and other states during the war.

(d) Depositions of various officers, directors, and stockholders of Charleston blockade-running companies taken before special agents of the 8th agency of the Department of the Treasury (U.S.).

(e) *Index 88 of Parties who exported cotton from Charleston, Georgetown, Wilmington, Savannah, Apalachicola, St. Marks, Florida, Mobile, Galveston, Sabine, Texas, Eagle Pass, Texas, New Orleans.*

(f) *Book I, The Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina.*

(g) Copies of miscellaneous letters and telegrams from John Fraser and Company, a blockade-running company of Charleston, to Confederate Secretaries of the Treasury Memminger and Trenholm, and to Confederate Secretaries of War Randolph and Benjamin, and a few replies thereto.

(h) Log of the Confederate steamer *Coquette*, 4 November 1863-7 August 1864.

(i) Copy of letter from W. C. Bee, President of The Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina, a blockade-running company, to Confederate Secretary of the Treasury Memminger, dated 4 February 1864.

(j) Copy of letter C. A. L. Lamar to Henry Lafone (at Liverpool) dated London, England, 2 October 1863.

(k) Letter, C. A. L. Lamar to G. B. Lamar, dated London, England, 18 October 1863.

2. *Letters of the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States, 1861-1865.*



III. *Records of the Bureau of Customs, Department of the Treasury (U. S.) in the National Archives, Record Group No. 36:*

Diary of S. H. Brown, of the crew of *Dee*, among the records of the Collector of Customs, New York, New York.

IV. *Records of the Department of the Navy (U. S.) in the National Archives, Record Group Nos. 24 and 45:*

1. *Final Decrees*—Washington, Boston, New Orleans (certified copies of decrees in prize cases).
2. *List of Captured Vessels and Capturing Ships.*
3. *Letters From and Relating to Blockade Runners*, March 1863-August 1864.
4. *Prisoners Captured on Blockade Runners*, 1861-1865.
5. *Reports of Prize Cases at Boston, Massachusetts, and Springfield, Illinois.*
6. *Prizes Captured by U. S. Vessels*, 1861-1864.
7. *Reports of Prize Cases at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.*
8. *Department and Consular Letters*, 1861-1863.
9. *Log of the U. S. Steamer Connecticut*, 22, 23 September 1863.
10. *Log of the U. S. Steamer Florida*, 11 June 1863.
11. *Log of the U. S. Steamer Tioga*, 9 October 1862, 20 January, 22 March and 3 April 1863.
12. *Log of the U. S. Steamer Wando*, 22 December 1864-10 August 1865.
13. *Log of the U. S. Steamer Nansemond*, 5 November 1863.
14. *Log of the U. S. Steamer Howquah*, 5 November 1863.
15. *Log of the U. S. Steamer Gettysburg*, 2 May 1864-25 April 1865.
16. *Log of the U. S. Steamer Calypso*, 25 September 1863-31 May 1865.
17. *Log of the U. S. Steamer Malvern*, 9 February 1864-24 October 1865.
18. *Commandant's Letters*, Navy Yard, Boston, Massachusetts, January-June 1864.
19. *North Atlantic Blockading Squadron*, Vol. 14.
20. *Prize Cases*, Boston.

V. *Records of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York in the National Archives, Record Group No. 21:*

1. Case File in the matter of the brig *Robert Bruce* and her cargo, taken as a prize.

VI. *Records of the Joint State and Navy Neutrality Board in the National Archives, Record Group No. 45:*

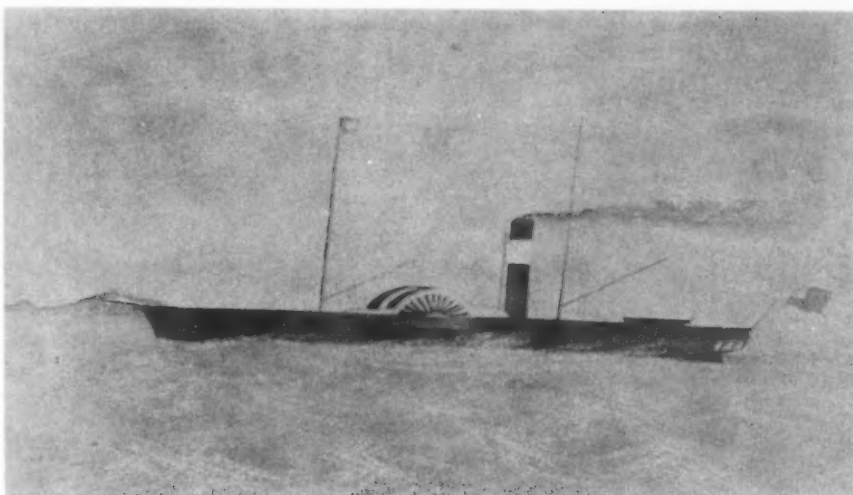
1. Report titled: *Blockade of the Southern Coast and Ports Established by the United States During the Civil War* (Serial No. 130).

VII. *Records of the Confederate and British Governments in the Library of Congress:*

1. *Entrances and Clearances of Vessels in Southern Ports and correspondence relative to the blockade* (Pickett papers).
2. Despatches from Her Britannic Majesty's Consuls at Charleston, S. C., to Lord (Earl) Russell, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1861-1865. (F. O. 5, Public Record Office, London, England, vols. 780-783, 843, 844, 906, 907, 968, 969, 1030—photostatic copies.)

VIII. *Newspapers:*

1. *The Charleston Daily Courier*, Charleston, S. C., 1861-February 1865.
2. *The Charleston Mercury*, Charleston, S. C., 1861-February 1865.
3. *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, Liverpool, England, 1861-1865.
4. *Liverpool Daily Post*, Liverpool, England, 1861-1865.
5. *The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette and Lloyd's List*, London, England, 1862-2 July 1864.
6. *The Index*, London, England, 1862-February 1865.



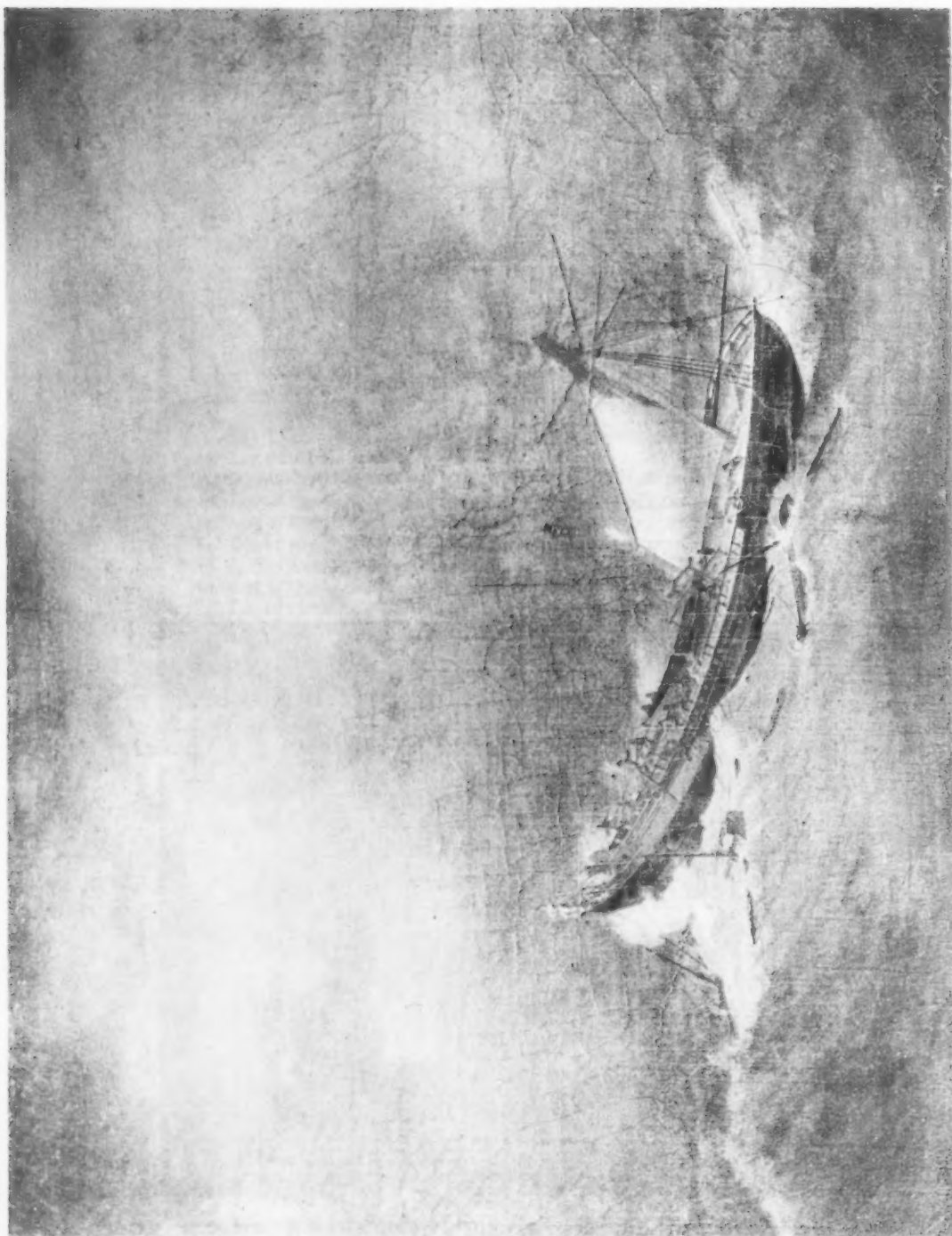
Bristol General Steam Navigation Company's Steamship *Juno* (1853)

*From a water color by E. Wassen, a Bristol sailor*



Brig *Robert Bruce* of Bristol, 182 tons, built 1854 by Richard Burke of Prince Edward Island, purchased by William Gough of Bristol, England, in 1855 and captured while running blockade in 1862

*From a painting of 1858, presented to the City Art Gallery, Bristol, by a daughter of Captain L. Bindon, who commanded the vessel circa 1858-1860.*



Ship *Hercules* dismasted in the North Atlantic September 1807  
*From a painting owned by Gersham Bradford, Duxbury, Massachusetts*

## IX. Books:

1. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XII, 1258-1259.
2. *Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Navy (U.S.)*, 1861-1865.
3. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I (1894-1927) and Series II (1922-1927).
4. J. Wilkinson, *The Narrative of a Blockade Runner* (New York, 1877).
5. James Russell Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers* (New York, 1883).
6. Thos. E. Taylor, *Running the Blockade* (London, 1897).
7. Charles Cowley [Judge Advocate, South Atlantic Blockading Squadron] *Leaves from a Lawyer's Life Afloat and Ashore* (Boston, 1879).
8. James Sprunt, *Tales of the Cape Fear Blockade* (Raleigh, N. C., 1902).
9. James Sprunt, *Blockade Running*, in vol. V, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65* (State of North Carolina, 1901), pp. 353-451.

## X. Other Source:

1. Captain Grahame E. Farr of Bristol, England: Miscellaneous notes donated to the author on British-built ships that ran the blockade.



## *For Better or for Worse*

BY GERSHOM BRADFORD

**A**N old oil painting of the dismasted ship *Hercules* (Plate 20) hangs before me as these lines are typed. She is lying-to under a jury mizzen-staysail in a heavy sea under a dark stormy sky. The story of this disaster has been found in two letters written by the captain's<sup>1</sup> wife, Sarah Drew Bradford, a courageous, though frightened, woman who more than kept her marriage vow to cleave to her husband for better or worse. Members of her family with sentiment and respect saved these letters which are now preserved by Mrs. Herbert H. Hudson of White Plains, New York:

Ship *Hercules*, September 28 [1807]

Dear Zilpah,—

Last Tuesday it was a shocking storm and our ship was dismasted. The storm that I was out in last October was a gentle zephyr to what we experienced last Tuesday. It blew at S.E., and Mr B. says it was the heaviest he ever experienced. He thought for one hour to see the masts blow over the sides, but the gale had abated for a few minutes and I had begun to hope the worst was over, when a sea struck her in the bowsprit and broke that close to the bow and with that went the foremast and in a few minutes the mainmast. There was a man in the foretop but he was saved providentially as well as the rest of us, and one in the shrouds, he jumped on the deck and lamed himself. The other came up to windward and Mr B. got him. The horror of the scene was more than I can express or you imagine unless you was to experience it and God grant you never may.

There is a ship coming up with us to see what is the matter and we rock[?] so makes me write so, for I am perfectly well and content and thankful that I am alive. Mr B. thinks to get into some port of France, the first he can make. They have all worked like bees and have got up two

<sup>1</sup> Captain Daniel Bradford of the ship *Hercules* was born 27 December 1771. He was the son of Colonel Gamaliel Bradford of Duxbury. Subsequently Captain Daniel moved to Keene, New Hampshire.



jury masts and sails enough to make her go 4 knots with a good wind.

If you don't hear from us this some time don't be concerned. We have got provisions and water to last some time and I trust we shall be preserved and again see our native shore.

It was 4 in the afternoon when we were wrecked. If it had been night they say it would have been impossible to have cleared her. It was almost as dark as night then. They hove over coffee and lightened the ship. The sea broke over her all night and the noise of that and the loose things [spars] at her sides was shocking. It seemed to me that she rested almost bottom up. Tell father Mr B. did not neglect the ship to take care of me, for he never came below but once from 8 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon.

Cherish my sweet Emily [her oldest child] if she is alive and you shall not find an ungrateful sister in Sarah.

The vessel has hove to to assist us and I send this parcel knowing you will be glad of it. The sea that struck us took the boat[?] from the stern. [The boat can be seen in the painting drifting astern.] I suppose the loss of the masts is considerable but I know that will not be held in competition with our lives.

Sarah.

— — — —  
Ship *Hercules* November 13 1087 [1807]

Dear Sister.—

It is with pleasure that I write to you from a safe harbour. We have just arrived at Spithead where one of his majesties 74 gun ships has took us. I expect that you have all been anxious about us and Mother especially. I hope it has not added to her melancholy. When I return I hope to find her well and my lovely Emily. It has been a grief to me that I did not know where Sally and she would be in my absence but I trust to your goodness that you and father and mother will see that they are taken care of. Mr. Bradford and I regret that we had not offered father and mother our house this winter. How much warmer more comfortable you would be in that snug warm house than you can in yours. If it is not too late when you receive this I hope you will take possession of our house. You will have no need of removing anything but bed clothes. You may make use of anything in the house. I can depend upon their being used with care.

We have had a most tedious passage and no words can express what I have undergone with fear. That troublesome companion has stuck close

to me ever since we were dismayed. O Zilpah, it was a solemn time with me. Bill was my intelligencer. He would go to the head of the stairs and bring me word from on deck whether they were all washed overboard. He would say, 'Why are you so frightened, Mr Bradford is not frightened, Mr Bradford is not frightened a bit.' I knew that he would not be frightened for I think it may be as truly said of him as ever it was of man that he fears God and has no other fear. How happy for him and for others that he does not lose his composure in the midst of danger. A few minutes before the masts went I went up the stairs and looked on deck, it was so dreadful that I had scarce strength left to get back to the cabin. I saw Mr Bradford give his orders with as much calmness as at any other time. When I heard the masts go I had not the least idea of living but a few minutes. My strongest sensations were that my sweet Emily and you all would look for our return and that you never would see us. I tried to compose myself with the thought that I should die with my husband. It was out of my power to compose myself. Mr Bradford came to the door and told me we should do well; to take care of myself. It was a cordial to me but when they came down to lighten the ship and I heard the mates say that they did not know what damage the wreck had done her bottom, for it [presumably the spars] passed under her, my spirits sank. . . . If I ever live to get home it will do me good. I shall not easily forget it and many other trials that we have had.

We got on our passage very well for three weeks and then we had head winds all the time for 20 days, heavy winds from North-east to South-east. About every 4 or 5 days it would blow so that they were obliged to lay the ship to and most of the other time could carry no more than two or three close reefed sails and we headed the sea all the time. I wonder Mr Bradford is alive. I knew no more of the hardships of a seafaring life when I went with him before than I should in going from Duxbury to Boston to what I have now. And now I come to the most vexatious part of my story—12 days ago the *Ramilies* boat came on board of the *Hercules*, took Mr Bradford and all his papers on board of their ship. After detaining us some time let us proceed. Two days after, came to us again and took all our men out but two, and one of them has not been able to get on deck this 5 or 6 weeks, has the rheumatism. And put a prize master and a midshipman and 7 [9?] ill-looking fellows on board of us and took us in tow. At first I was pleased. I thought we should soon be on shore, the weather was more moderate though still ahead. She stopt every American that she saw, they ran one on shore going into the harbour. We were fortunate enough to get in safe tho not owing to the good conduct of the mas-



The City of New York, from a lithograph by N. Currier, 1856. The steamboat *Commonwealth* appears on the extreme left, just aft of *Metropolis*, rounding the Battery to enter the East River.

*Courtesy of the New York Historical Society*

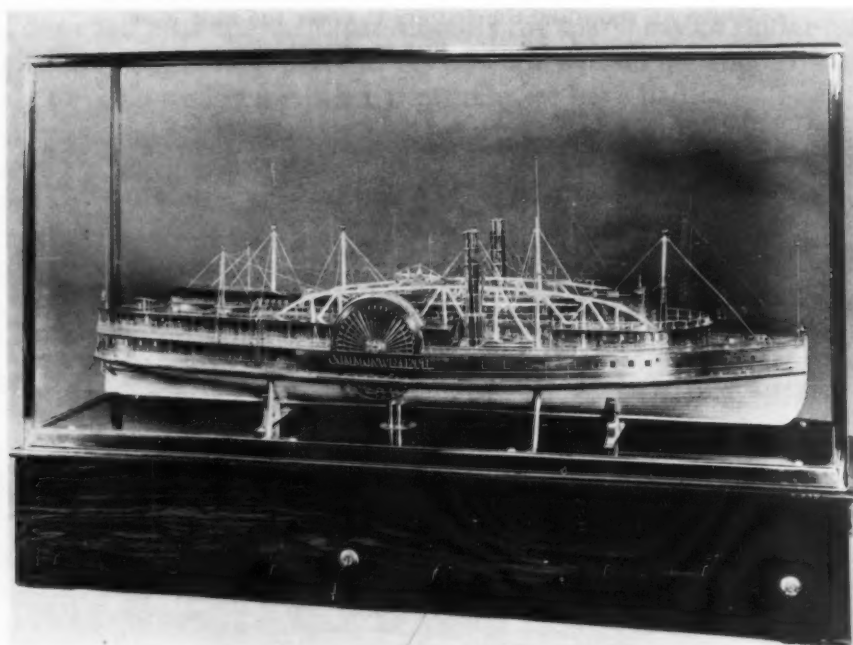


The Worcester, Massachusetts, Railroad Depot in 1855, showing passenger cars of the New York and Boston Steamboat Line

*From a woodcut in Ballou's Pictorial, IX (1855), 249*



The steamboat *Commonwealth*, Captain J. W. Williams, from a lithograph by Endicott and Company, circa 1856  
*From the collection of The Mariners' Museum, Newport News*



Gold and silver scale model of the steamboat *Commonwealth*, as mounted on a music box and presented to her master  
*From the collection of The Mariners' Museum, Newport News*

ter. He is full of rum the whole time and the sailors would not obey Mr Bradford if he told them to do anything. To see such confusion and management as there has been on board since those haughty Englishmen have commanded us would try the patience of a Job to see them strut on board of the *Hercules* and on board of their own ship I dare to say that he hardly dare speak. The two days that they had us in tow, in the night, the *Ramilies* took the wind aback and came down upon us. You have no idea how dreadful it sounded. I expected she would stave us all to pieces; she took the davies and some of the carved work off the stern and broke some spars and away she went, such a huge thing you never saw. We are no more than a log-boat to her. In two days more they said she was a-coming down again. They carried away the tow-rope and she went clear. The third time in the evening it was all noise and confusion they said she was a-coming right upon us. The wind blew hard, I thought I should lose my senses with fright, she cleared us and that was all. It all owing to carelessness. Unfeeling monsters, if they had sent us to the bottom I presume they would have tho't no more of it than I should to kill a spider.

We are quarantined but know not for how long and we shall be pestered with those Englishmen till we have liberty to go on shore which will be more disagreeable than the detention.

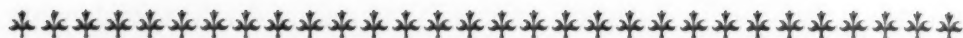
I expect to see the great City of London and then I hope I shall have something to write you that will be more amusing than our disasters but nothing that you will be more interested in I presume. My love to Mother and Father and all my sisters. I shall write to Lucy and Welthea [sisters] the first chance. Your affectionate sister,

Sarah Bradford

My dear Emily,—I hope you are well. I want to see you very much. I hope you are a good girl and will learn a great deal before I come home. Give my love to Sally. Tell her I shall write her soon. I expect to go to London and I shall buy you a pretty doll and I will take care that she has hands and fingers and tell Sally that I shall buy her something. I expect Aunt Zilpah or Aunt Welthea lives with you. I hope to be at home next Spring and hope to find you well. Good bye my sweet child, from your affectionate mother

Sarah Bradford.





## The 'Elegant' Steamboat Commonwealth

A brief sketch of her career on Long Island Sound from 1855 to 1865  
and of her commander, Captain Jerome Wheeler Williams

BY ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN

THE elegance of mid-nineteenth century steamboat travel on the coastal waters of the United States was the source of unending astonishment and delight to countless contemporary writers. While it would be a pleasure to ascribe the luxurious appointments of these boats to the altruism of the proprietors, actually the spur of keen and unremitting competition made them give of their best at all times. One of the most lucrative and, therefore, the most sought after services was the conveyance of passengers and freight between the cities of New York and Boston without the recourse to the long, exposed, all-water trip around Cape Cod. A variety of routes combining boat and rail were in use in the early 1850's when the old *Commonwealth* entered service. Best known of late, of course, was the Fall River Line, whose 1908-built *Commonwealth* is still remembered with great affection. The Fall River Line possessed the decided advantage of bringing its customers closer to Boston and thus letting them sleep later than on the Stonington and other lines which confined themselves to the Sound. But the final part of the trip was of necessity made without the benefit of the protective lee of Long Island. Thus, the assurance of potentially calmer water inside the Race made the New London route a popular one despite the longer overland haul from head of navigation on the Thames to the universe's 'hub.'

No further attempt will be made to detail the intricacies of steamboat management in these waters, for which a variety of sources is available.<sup>1</sup> But the picture should not be forgotten of many large white steamboats leaving their berths in Manhattan of an evening, swinging into the East River, and following one another down the Sound, each headed to an early morning rendezvous with a rail head as at Allyn Point (Norwich), Stonington, Bristol, Fall River, or Providence.

<sup>1</sup> Such as: John H. Morrison, *History of American Steam Navigation* (New York, 1903), and Fred E. Dayton, *Steamboat Days* (New York, 1928).

Mr. William King Covell succinctly points out in his *Short History of the Fall River Line*<sup>2</sup> that these railroads, having taken over stage coach lines, were initially feeders to the steamboats. It was not long, however, before the tail began to wag the dog.

The Norwich and New London Steamboat Company, organized in 1848 in conjunction with the Norwich, Worcester and Boston Railroad, was a prosperous concern when it decided in 1854 to order the new wooden hull, side-wheel steamboat *Commonwealth* to serve as running mate with the 1848-built *Connecticut*. *Commonwealth* was built by the firm of Lawrence and Foulkes at Greenpoint, Long Island, and embodied a variety of features which summed her up as one of the greatest of the Sound steamboats of the period, second only to the Fall River Line's new *Metropolis*. Happily for those who would know about *Commonwealth* today, this sentiment was entertained by the well-known American marine architect, John W. Griffiths, and in 1855 he wrote her up at length for *The Monthly Nautical Magazine*, of which he was editor, as 'one of the most striking' examples 'of Steamboat Architecture to be found in the waters of the New World.'<sup>3</sup>

In commenting on the model of *Commonwealth* by Lawrence and Foulkes, Griffiths said:

Their model . . . is worthy of examination by all professional architects. We regard it as one of the very best which has been adapted to the steam navigation of Long Island Sound, having adequate stability, ease of motion, and every other good sea quality. The keel forward rises above a straight line, and blends into the stem by an easy curve; the greatest transverse section is 7 feet abaft of mid-length of load-line; and the fore and aft portions of the mid-ship body are duplicates of each other for a length of 56 feet. This is an original feature in steamboat modeling. The bow has a sharp angle of resistance, and is quite lifting to the fluid. The run is very clean. The vertical section lines are quite easy, as we think they should be, either for seagoing steamers or sailing vessels. We are particularly pleased with the liberality of *breadth*, furnishing, as it does, not only *stability* and *steadiness*, but ample space for accommodations.

As completed, *Commonwealth's* shoal draft hull was braced by the customary bridge-like 'hog frames' running on both sides for a distance of about two-thirds of her length. The following were her dimensions:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Newport, 1947, p. 9. Mr. Covell was kind enough to review the manuscript of this article prior to publication and his suggestions have proved of great value.

<sup>3</sup> New York, II, no. 3 (June 1855), 'The Steamboat *Commonwealth*,' pp. 221-226.

<sup>4</sup> S. W. Stanton, *American Steam Vessels* (New York, 1895), pp. 136-137.

Length on the load line	300 feet
Length over all on deck	316 feet
Breadth of beam moulded	41 feet
Breadth of beam extreme	42 feet
Breadth over guards	77 feet
Depth of hold	13 feet 6 inches
Draft of water in running trim	8 feet 4 inches
Tonnage for register	1732 tons

*Commonwealth's* engine, a typical vertical beam installation, was built by the Morgan Iron Works of New York to the following particulars:

Diameter of cylinder	76 inches
Length of stroke	12 feet
Length of beam between centers	26 feet
Length of connecting rod	24 feet
Average pressure of steam	30 pounds
Diameter of steam pipe	28 inches
Cut-off—Stevens—at an average of	7 feet
Revolutions per minute, with average pressure	19

Steam was provided by two return-flue boilers set forward of the engine on the steamboat's guards. The boilers measured 38 feet in length, by 13 feet 6 inches in diameter, and steam was raised by burning anthracite coal in six furnaces which afforded 5,000 square feet of heating surface. Parallel funnels rising perpendicularly above the after ends of the boilers were 56 inches in diameter by 40 feet high. Twenty-eight buckets measured 10 feet 6 inches by 32 inches. At normal draft the dip was 3 feet 4 inches. In addition, Mr. Griffiths stated that the engine was fitted with E. W. Smith's safety unhooking gear, 'by which the steam eccentric is unhooked instantly when, by breakage of any of the parts, the piston moves one half inch beyond the limits prescribed by the cranks.'

We are indebted to still another source for contemporary mention of *Commonwealth* by a competent naval architect. Since Marestier's visit to the United States in 1820 investigating the remarkable achievements of American steamboats, foreign eyes had frequently been turned to this phase of American enterprise. At the second session of the British Institution of Naval Architects on 1 March 1861, Mr. Norman S. Russell read a paper entitled 'On American River Steamers' which was printed in the annual volume of the Institution's *Transactions*.<sup>5</sup> For examples, he presented beautifully drawn plans of *Commonwealth* and of the western river

<sup>5</sup> London, II (1861), 105-127, plates IX, X, XI. Larger versions of the same plans appear in John Scott Russell's monumental treatise, *The Modern System of Naval Architecture* (London, Day & Son, Lithographers, 1864), I, 665-666; II, plates 164-165.

steamboat *Memphis*. And since the American types were so different from those used in British waters, Mr. Russell expounded at some length on the particular requirements demanded by the services such vessels as *Commonwealth* were called upon to perform:

A ship on the Eastern waters is a floating American hotel. You are, therefore to conceive a double series of bedrooms, two to three hundred feet long, extending along the sides of a gigantic saloon; and that, to carry this, to furnish the passengers the luxurious accommodation of an hotel, and at the same time to accomplish 150 miles in the night, are the great objects to be obtained by the shipbuilder, the marine engineer, and the ship-owner.<sup>6</sup>

Continuing, he detailed the machinery necessary to propel such a floating hotel at speeds up to 20 miles an hour:

The American steamboat engine has long been a subject of wonder to the English engineer. It is ugly, straggling, and inconvenient-looking; its incompactness, want of snugness, and economy of room, make it the reverse of everything we think good in a steamboat engine.<sup>7</sup>

But familiarity with the American beam engine did not breed contempt in Mr. Russell, who revised his initial opinion to conclude: 'I do not think it possible to design an engine more admirably fit for its use and purpose, under the circumstances where it is applied.'

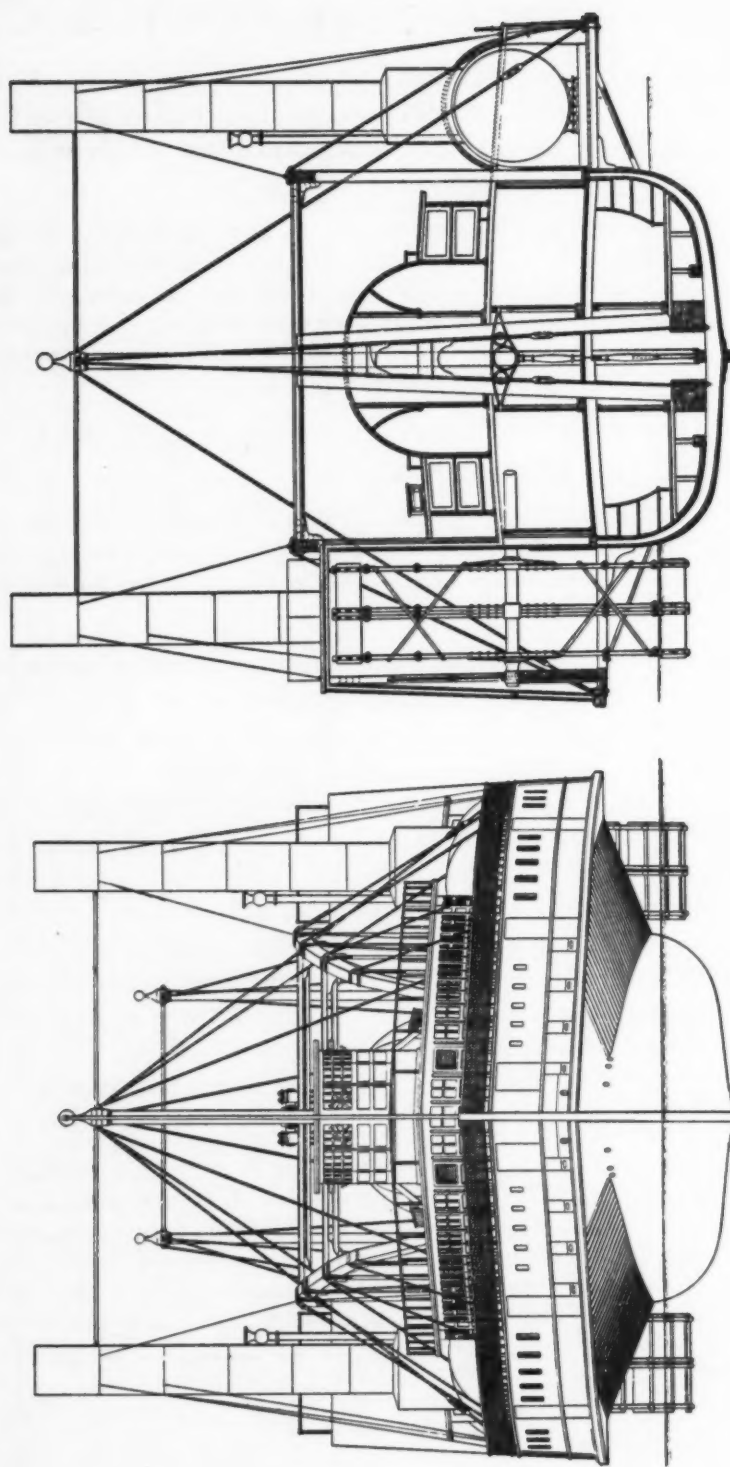
The average traveller in *Commonwealth*, however, was less moved by the perfection of hull and machinery than by the accommodations, the design and arrangement of which were worked out by the naval architect Alexander Hawkins and the joiner work done by Reed, Tice and Hamilton. The upper cabin, or saloon deck, ran the entire length of the boat and was elevated nine feet above the main deck. Above the saloon a semicylindrical dome ran the entire length of the cabin structure giving the saloon a fifteen-foot elevation. In all, *Commonwealth* had one hundred and twenty staterooms with two berths each, and accommodations for some six hundred cabin passengers. Griffiths' description continues:<sup>8</sup>

The lower cabin under the main deck is very commodious; and the forward part is appropriated as a dining-saloon; while on the main deck, abaft the gangway, a spacious and splendid ladies' cabin, unsurpassed in style and finish, is constructed. A fine cabin is also set off from the main upper saloon, on the after end of the boat, which contains 30 large sofas, enabling passengers to sit and enjoy the magnificent prospect of the evening passage on the Sound with comfort. The greatest care and skill has been manifested in ventilating every state-room, cabin, and saloon through-

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> *Nautical Magazine*, op. cit., pp. 225-226.



*J. W. Lowry, designer*

*Maximum depth*

*Midship Section*

*Bow Elevation*

Scale of Feet  
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Bow Elevation and Midship Section of the 1855 Long Island Sound  
Steamboat *Commonwealth*.

Plate XI in *Transactions of the Institution of Naval Architects*, London, II (1861),  
to illustrate a paper by Norman S. Russell, 'On American River Steamers.'



out the boat. There are several bridal-chambers and 18 large state-rooms, gorgeously furnished with upholstery; all the state-rooms are so arranged as to admit of a direct and easy escape to the outside of the boat, in case of accident. The main stair-case, situated abaft the engine room, runs with double flights from the lower cabin to the upper saloon, with double entrances to both decks. The stairway is a beautiful, and self supporting structure, and one of the finest pieces of workmanship which we have ever seen. The Captain and pilot's rooms are in the rear of the wheelhouse, from which a speaking-trumpet extends, which can also be sounded as a whistle to the fore-castle. Twelve bells [bell pulls] are placed in different localities of the boat to enable the Captain to communicate with the engineer in every situation. The ground tackle consists of 3 common and 1 very large-sized anchor, to be worked with improved purchase. The *Commonwealth* has 600 pairs of lifepreservers, eight life-boats, and 155 life-preserving seats.

*Commonwealth* began running in daily service of the Norwich and New London Steamboat Company on 5 April 1855 commanded by Captain Jerome Wheeler Williams and with Mr. Samuel Carter as chief engineer. One night she made New London, the longest leg of her 134-mile run from New York to Norwich, in the remarkable time of six hours and ten minutes.

On the evening of 19 April 1855, the assembled company on board *Commonwealth* held one of those formal meetings, dear to the hearts of nineteenth-century travellers who frequently did not accept their mode of conveyance as a matter of course as too often we do today. After listening to a statement by Mr. Henry B. Norton, president of the line, concerning the construction of the vessel, a committee of three was appointed 'to retire and draft resolutions expressive of the opinion of this meeting in relation to the steamer on which they were passengers.'<sup>9</sup> This committee consisted of the publisher, George P. Putnam, Joshua Leavitt, editor of the *Independent*, and R. G. Horton, of the *New York Day Book*. These gentlemen joyfully unburdened themselves of the following inspired sentiments:

RESOLVED, That we view with great pleasure this magnificent addition to the facilities which distinguish travel in the Eastern States, and that we tender our thanks to the proprietors of the *Commonwealth* for the elegant and commodious steamer now placed on the Norwich and Boston line, assured that such magnificence and enterprise will reap a rich reward.

RESOLVED, That this boat reflects the greatest credit upon Mr. Alexander Hawkins, the architect, and all employed in its construction, and is worthy of the fame and experience of its tried and favorite commander, Capt. Williams.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted from the 'Traveller' in *Genealogical and Biographical Record of New London County, Connecticut* (Chicago: J. H. Beers & Co., 1905), p. 369.

RESOLVED, That in the elegance that so distinguishes this splendid steamer, we recognize charming influences and perfect taste of our fair countrywomen, of whose supremacy the *Commonwealth* is in every respect a happy and befitting emblem.

After the adoption of the above resolutions, Mr. G. P. Putnam offered the following additional one, which was also unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That we have especial satisfaction in the evidence that in the construction of this *Commonwealth*, extraordinary care has been taken to ensure the greatest strength and safety—these considerations being, in our view, much more important than even the brilliant attraction of elegance and comfort, which are so worthy of our admiration in this splendid vessel.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Beecher of New York *Recorder and Register*, it was resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the newspaper press for publication.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOSHUA LEAVITT, Chairman.

G. P. PUTNAM,  
R. G. HORTON,  
Secretaries.

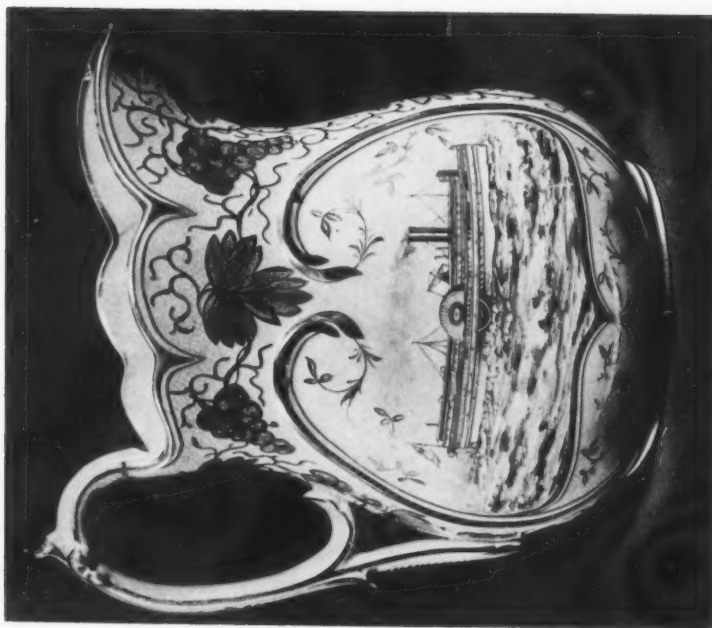
Throughout her service, *Commonwealth* was commanded by Captain Williams, a capable and much respected mariner, who had a share in her ownership. The *Genealogical and Biographical Record of New London County, Connecticut* describes him as 'a tall, well-built man, of a distinguished and commanding presence. In disposition he was genial and placid. As an officer he was careful, kind and courteous, yet he always maintained the strictest discipline. His career as a captain was without serious loss of any kind.'<sup>10</sup>

Mr. Roger Williams McAdam has furnished me with the following brief transcription of his career:<sup>11</sup>

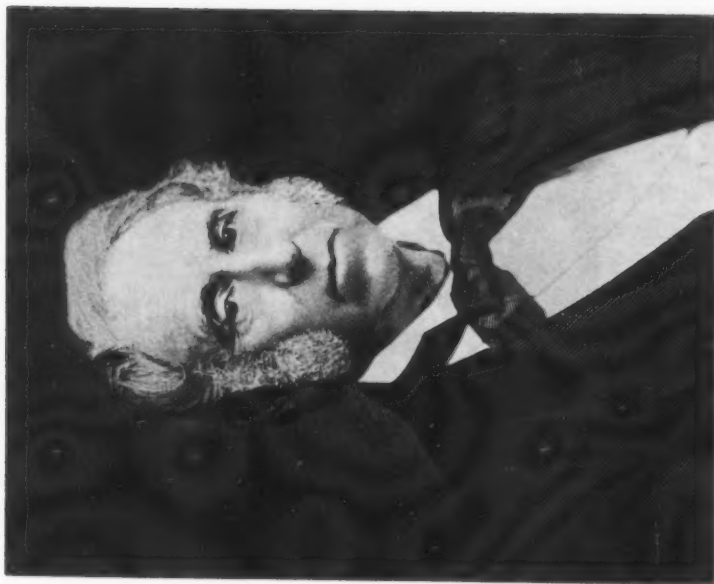
Born in Montville, Connecticut, on the banks of the Thames, 17 March 1812; followed the sea from boyhood; first commanded a sloop owned by Captain W. W. Coit, trading between Norwich and New York; later commanded Commodore Vanderbilt's steamboat *Traveller* which ran between Allyn Point, Connecticut, [six miles below Norwich] and Greenpoint, Long Island, in connection with the Long Island Railroad; subsequently entered the employ of the Norwich and New London Steamboat Company operating Allyn Point to New York in connection with the Norwich and Worcester Railroad; commanded *Cleopatra*, *City of Norwich*, *Knickerbocker*, and *Commonwealth*; later entered the employ of the Norwich and New York Transportation Company and commanded *City of Boston*; retired in 1873; and died 29 September 1899 at the age of eighty-seven.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

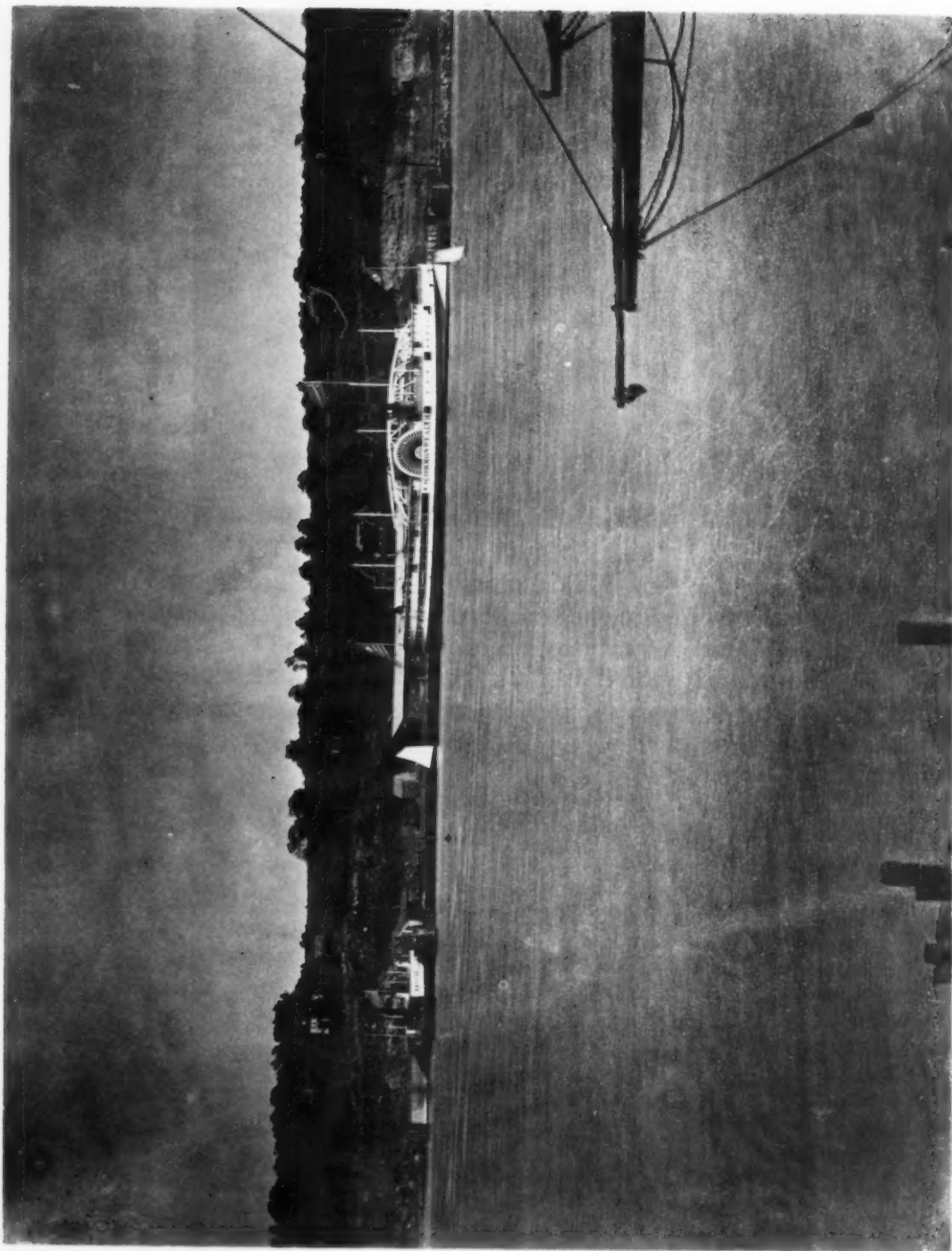
<sup>11</sup> Author of *Salts of the Sound* (New York, 1939), in which see pp. 104-106.



China water pitcher portraying the steamboat *Commonwealth*  
*From the collection of The Mariners' Museum, Newport News*



Captain Jerome Wheeler Williams, 1812-1899  
*From a steel engraving, circa 1905, courtesy of  
Mrs. Ella H. Starbuck, Troy, New York*



The steamboat *Commonwealth* at Groton,  
Connecticut, in the early 1860's

Image is a black and white photograph of the steamboat Commonwealth at Groton, Connecticut, in the early 1860's.

Through the nineteenth century, the personalities of ship captains were definitely reflected in the operation of their vessels and the good name of *Commonwealth* was due in large part to the popularity of her commander. Another custom of bygone days was the awarding of handsome gifts to the captain by grateful passengers and other friends and well wishers. In 1856, Captain Williams, like many other mariners, was presented a 'costly and elegant' silver speaking trumpet which he received 'with marked emotion.'<sup>12</sup> But, according to his granddaughter, Mrs. Ella H. Starbuck of Troy, New York, his handsomest gift came from the people of Hartford, who, in the late 1860's, presented him with a solid silver and gold scale model of *Commonwealth*. Williams treasured this highly. It went over to be exhibited at one of the Paris expositions and comparatively recently was on display at the New York World's Fair. Since that time it has been acquired by The Mariners' Museum of Newport News, Virginia.

This model is to the scale of about  $\frac{3}{32}$  of an inch to the foot and measures  $27\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. It is mounted on a case containing a music box, and while rendering such cheerful tunes as 'Nellie Bligh,' 'By Banks and Braes of Bonny Doon,' and eight others, the walking beam see-saws and the paddle-wheels turn. Although the maker's name is nowhere to be found, it is said that a former Tiffany silversmith made the model and the presence of pennies dated 1863 and 1864 soldered in to support the paddle-wheel axles inside the paddle boxes indicate that it was built some time after the ship itself. A somewhat similar model of *Josephine* in the Marine Museum of the City of New York was built in 1868 by J. Dean Benton of Wilmington, Delaware, who may possibly have constructed the *Commonwealth* model.

In any event, it was a handsome gift, reputed to have cost \$500 for the music box and \$6,000 for the silver model. Another interesting relic of the captain's effects consists of a white, china water pitcher, decorated in royal blue and gold, likewise in The Mariners' Museum. A somewhat inaccurate transfer picture of *Commonwealth* in gold is on one side and the captain's name on the other. Mrs. Starbuck, who presented it, states that such china was standard equipment on board.

But *Commonwealth* herself, despite her elegance and sturdy construction, came to an untimely end. In May 1860 the Norwich and New London Steamboat Company sold out, due to a disagreement with the railroad, and the steamer was acquired by the Stonington Line but kept in the same service. Shortly thereafter, the railroad to Stonington was ex-

<sup>12</sup> Quoted from Boston 'Journal' in *Genealogical . . . Record*, op. cit., p. 369.



tended to reach the Thames River at Groton, opposite New London, service from there commencing on 17 September 1860. According to Morrison,<sup>13</sup> a rival line, the Norwich and New York Transportation Company, was organized in 1860, but *Commonwealth*, with Captain Williams still in command, kept on running to the Thames alternating with *Plymouth Rock*, although by a so-called auction sale she passed to the Merchants Navigation and Transportation Company late in 1863.

On the night of 29 December 1865, while *Commonwealth* was grounded alongside her wharf at Groton by an exceptionally low tide, the pier caught fire and flames spread and consumed the ship as well. The total loss was computed at a million and a half dollars, but *Commonwealth*, said to have been valued at a third of that amount, was insured for only \$80,000.

Thus, an unavoidable accident ended untimely the promising career of one of America's finest examples of mid-nineteenth century steamboat architecture. Captain Williams never got over it. Quite possibly his friends presented him with the music box model in partial recompense for the loss of his ship.

<sup>13</sup> Morrison, op. cit., pp. 291-292, 330-331.



# Documents

NAVAL ACTION ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN,  
1776

[Manuscript in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum Library, Fort Ticonderoga, New York: gift of Kenneth Roberts, Esq.]

St. Johns, November 13<sup>th</sup> 1776

Dear Frott,

It was with Pleasure I received your kind Favor of the 31 July Yesterday at Dinner Time. I thought it the best Dish at Table notwithstanding my being very hungry. You blame me for not writing by Cap<sup>t</sup>. LeMaitre. I never knew he was going to England but believe my Letters to you and my Father sailed two Days after him. They were intended to go in the first Ship but we at that time being at St. Charles which was quite out of the Way prevented our having Intelligence of the Ship going to England.—In my last I informed you I was going to Crown Point, the bad state in which the Works were in together with the Barracks & Houses being destroyed prevented our staying there this Winter. We found it too late to repair them before Winter as it would be necessary to keep 15 or 16 hundred Men there. There are too many men at Ticonderoga for us to attack this year. G. Carleton & G. Phillips have been there reconnoitring with 3 Comp<sup>s</sup>. of Light Infantry, Cap<sup>t</sup>. Fraser's Corps & Cap<sup>t</sup>. Carleton's Indians. They abandoned all their advanced Posts and flew to the Works, beat to arms and were most terribly Frighten'd. They stayed there a few days and returned without any Loss. The Rebels fired at them several times but never attempted to attack them.

I staid at Crown Point three Days and returned here to inspect the Barracks &c.: Isle aux Noix's the advanced Post. Lt. Col. Lynn commands the 20<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>. there and 30 men of the Artillery.—B.

Gen. Hamilton the 21<sup>st</sup>. & 60 Artillery here where I believe I remain this Winter but am still in hopes of going to Montreal. G. Phillips' Quarters where the Rest of the Artillery are to be which will be all Life & Spirit, Dancing and Plays &c.—However I shall be very happy here and if here shall take frequent Trips to Montreal.—I am at present in a Garret Room over the Barracks which we call Luxury when we consider how many are yet in Tents (*this is being an Engineer.*)

I am happy to hear of our Family being well for I have received but a few Lines from my Mother since I left England. Give me leave to congratulate you & your Sister on the Present she made you.

You write of our meeting G. Howe at N. York. By this Time you know his Success better than I do—but I believe we shall meet next Year at Albany where I hope I may see my Brother.

I am much obliged to you for your kindness to me in recommending me to Mr. Allsopp. I have had one very kind letter. I hear much Talk of him in his Favour. If I ever go to Quebec again I hope we shall be better acquainted. None of the Artillery Winter there. The 34, 47, & 62 Reg<sup>ts</sup>. are gone there. G. Carleton winters there. 'Tis a great way off, above 200 miles.

Before we begin our next Campaign I must do myself the Pleasure of writing to Mr. Allsopp concerning——— [*sic*] having no opportunity has prevented me doing that before. 'Tis with Pleasure I acquaint you I keep my Employment as Ass<sup>t</sup>. Engineer all Winter which is a Thing I never expected.

Inclosed I send you a rough sketch of the Action on Lake Champlain. The Artillery never gained more Honour. The Gun Boats and the *Carleton* only were engaged the first day. The other ships could not get up on account of the Wind. There best Schooner soon run aground. The G. Boats obliged the Men to leave her and hitted several as they



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## Book Reviews

G. R. G. WORCESTER, *The Junks and Sampans of the Yangtze*. Vol. I: *Introduction; and craft of the Estuary and Shanghai Area* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1947: available in United States through P. C. and Ione Perkins, South Pasadena, California). 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", cloth. 245 pages, 83 plates, 17 figures. \$10.00.

This is the first volume of a study of the craft found along the entire length of the Yangtze River. The reviewer has no hesitation in saying that when completed it will be the most useful book on Chinese craft that has yet been published in the English language.

Volume I, covering only the Yangtze estuary and the Shanghai area, contains eleven chapters. Chapter I, entitled 'The Chinese Junk in History, Art, and Literature,' is devoted to a general introduction of the subject. After discussing the junk in the various arts, archaeology, and history, Mr. Worcester issues just warning against the use of native drawings and models as subjects of study from a nautical research point of view. Few will quarrel with his note on drawings that: 'Actually the correct drawing of ships of any sort under sail is, perhaps, the most difficult subject in art. For instance, apart from the actual craft itself, the force and direction of the wind and sea must be apparent and the sails must be shown as they would appear in nature, to say nothing of the delineation of the rigging in motion. All these must harmonize if they are not to offend the practised eye of the sailor.' Neither the models made as votive offerings to temples nor the tourists' souvenirs which appeared toward the latter part of the nineteenth century are accurate. As a matter of fact this inaccuracy of native models is a general truth which applies almost anywhere in the world. Even our own sailors' models are seldom in proportion.

The second chapter is an introduction to the specific area being studied and contains, besides, excellent accounts of the Chinese shipwright and his tools, shipbuilding, caulking and rigging junks, and such little known subjects as the decoration of junks, masthead devices, trade union guilds, and Chinese marine insurance methods.

Chapters III to VII take up the subjects of propulsion, masts and sails, sail battens, sheets and methods of sheeting, the compass, and anchors and rudders. All of this excellent text is illustrated with line drawings, diagrams, photographs, and reproductions of prints, skillfully selected to clarify the problems.

Chapters VIII to XI are the real meat of the book and contain detailed descriptions, plans, and photographs, of forty different types of junks, sampans, and boats, and some twenty-five variations of these principal types. All of this information has been gathered first hand, by talking with shipwrights and examining, taking off the lines, and drawing plans of each type of craft.

Not only will the marine historian and ethnologist be indebted to Mr. Worcester for many years to come, but the reader who loves all ships and the sea will at last

have an accurate and pleasing work on the obscure but most interesting subject of Chinese craft. The great difficulty which the author endured in collecting his information and saving his manuscript during most trying times and conditions is also to be admired and commended. And we can all join Mr. Worcester in the appreciation of the Chinese poet, Li T'ai-po, who sang to every ship-lover everywhere in his 'Song of the River'

When one has good wine,  
A graceful boat,  
And a maiden's love,  
Why envy the immortal gods?

[DONALD H. MUGRIDGE] *An Album of American Battle Art, 1755-1918* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1947). 9" x 12", cloth. xvi + 319 pages, 150 illustrations. \$5.00.

In format and style, *An Album of American Battle Art* stands out as one of the handsomest books of the year. This achievement is made even more impressive by the fact that it is a production of the U. S. Government Printing Office, regrettably an organization whose usual output is typographically unappealing. And the context of the book is worthy of the dress which it has been given.

The origin of this album was in an exhibition of prints and pictures of American Battle Art held at the Library of Congress during the summer of 1944. This exhibition was complementary to the Exhibition of American Battle Painting, 1776-1918, displayed at the U. S. National Gallery and later at the New York Museum of Modern Art. A handsome sixty-page illustrated catalogue, not previously noted in *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, was available at the time of this exhibition.

The present publication goes much further than the average catalogue, however, and Mr. Mugridge's interesting, humorous and scholarly commentary to the pictures presented has been well worth waiting for. The book is divided into ten sections covering as many groups of conflicts in which this nation has become embroiled, ranging from the French and Indian Wars and aftermath (1755-1765) through the Revolution, Barbary Wars, War of 1812, Indian Wars (1832-1845), Mexican War, Civil War, Plains Indians (1862-1890), Spanish-American War, and World War I through 1918.

Understandably, both exhibits and their respective catalogues omit material on World War II due to insufficient passage of time to appraise the production of its art in adequate perspective. One unavoidable fault of both exhibitions is the fact that the importance of the conflict to the national scene is not in proportion to the space allotted in the display. In this catalogue, for example, the relatively unimportant Mexican War rates eighteen items while World War I only has eleven. The Civil War heads the list with fifty-five pictures.

Naturally a large amount of material pertains to naval operations and will be found to be of great interest to *NEPTUNE* readers. It is a pleasure to note that the splendid Mexican War lithographs by that talented American naval officer, Lieutenant Henry Walke, are given proper appreciation. It is perhaps the compiler's



notes on the artists and mediums used which furnish the book's chief interest. The following quotation, describing a print of the Battle of Manila Bay in the decadent period of the chromolithograph of the Spanish-American War, is worth the price of admission: 'No one will deny that the New York chromolithographers, Muller, Luchsinger & Company, have here achieved a superlative blend of the horrors of war with the horrors of art.'

In a volume of this stature, the few errors present stand out in sharp relief. Such an unfortunate 'bull' is the statement that upon the capture of Fort Hatteras by the Federals in August 1861, 'the Chief Confederate waterway north of Charleston was controlled by the Union.' That waterway, Suh, is the Cape Fear River and the port is Wilmington, North Carolina.

FRANK E. VANDIVER, Ed. *Confederate Blockade Running Through Bermuda, 1861-1865; Letters and Cargo Manifests* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1947). 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ ", cloth. 199 pages, 1 plate. \$3.00.

When the definitive history of blockade running during the War Between the States, yet to be written, is in preparation the author of that history will find Mr. Vandiver's book valuable for reference purposes. In the meantime, historians and others interested in the subject will be glad to have access to the previously unpublished material it contains.

The book is in two parts. The first includes (1) the letter-books of John Tory Bourne, a commission merchant of St. George's, Bermuda, who was Confederate Commercial Agent at that port throughout the war; and (2) the letter-books of Major Smith Stansbury, Commanding Officer of the Confederate Ordnance Depot at St. George's. Part II contains cargo manifests of vessels that ran between Bermuda and Confederate ports while the war was in progress.

In editing his material for publication, Mr. Vandiver omitted about 145 of the Bourne and Stansbury letters on the ground that they 'did not bear particularly on the blockade,' or that they were 'not of sufficient importance seemingly to warrant inclusion. . . .'

Exception must be taken to the statement in the *Editor's Note to Part II* that the cargo manifests published by him 'give a fairly complete picture of the . . . quantity of supplies reaching the Confederacy—military and civilian alike.' Practically all of the supplies run into Charleston, South Carolina, one of the largest of the Confederate ports, were shipped, not at Bermuda, but at Nassau, New Providence. The great port of Wilmington, North Carolina, received some shipments from Nassau, and, during the later months of the war, a considerable quantity of supplies from Halifax, Nova Scotia.

It is stated in the *Editor's Note to Part II* that: 'The difference in tonnage of ships bearing the same name,' (as shown by the published manifests), 'is generally an indication that the original vessel was captured and another put into service under the same designation.' There were instances in which runners captured or lost at sea were replaced by others having the same designation. There were also a few cases in which two ships with identical names were engaged in blockade running at the same time. It is suggested, however, that usually, the variances in tonnage figures

given in manifests of vessels having the same names may be explained by the fact that sometimes such manifests gave the gross tonnages of the vessels and at others they gave their net tonnages or tons burthen.

ERNEST A. RATSEY and W. H. DEFONTAINE, *Yacht Sails: Their Care and Handling* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1948). 5½" x 8¼", cloth. 258 pages, 29 halftones, 110 line drawings, index. \$4.00.

A well-known sailmaker and an associate editor of *Yachting* have collaborated in the production of an extremely useful and informative work on an all too neglected subject. Two chapters on headsails and spinnakers were contributed to the book by the yacht designer, Roderick Stephens, Jr. It would be patently impossible to consider sails as complete and independent entities and wisely, the authors have digressed to take in a sufficient amount of the design, rigging, and rope work required for an understanding of the why, how and when of yacht sails.

The authors are at their best when treating the subject at hand and their remarks on how sails are cut, sewed, fitted, broken in, cared for, and repaired are unexcelled. Likewise the scientific aspects of locating centers of efforts, true and apparent wind, as well as materials used to make sails, from animal skins to nylon, are worthy of the study of the yachtsman who wishes to get the most out of his boat.

The first chapter, 'A Look Astern,' is, however, somewhat oversimplified. For example, bugeyes are described without mention of their prototypes, log canoes and Virginia pilot boats. And if space is to be given to the man who sailed his Star boat with the wing of an aeroplane, then the German yacht which was successfully sailed with a Flettner rotor in the 1920's deserves at least a word. In describing the maneuver of lowering the peak of a gaff-headed sail to reduce its area, the old sea-going term of 'scandalize' should have been employed.

And, although subsequently discredited by sailmakers, who state that 'it is easy enough to get holes in your spinnaker' without having them expressly put in, the name 'Annie Oakley' is sufficiently colorful to rate a mention. These are but small points, however, and *Yacht Sails* is a thoroughly worth-while book. The photographs are excellent.

KATE and RICHARD BERTRAM, *Caribbean Cruise* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1948). 5½" x 8½", cloth. 292 pages, 7 charts and plans, 15 halftones. \$3.75.

A well-written collaboration covering a yachting cruise to the West Indies, begun in 1941, interrupted by the war and concluded in 1946. The vessel is the 36-foot Al-den auxiliary sloop *Sora*. The book possesses the usual merits and demerits of its type. On the plus side are interesting appendices covering gear, equipment, customs formalities, galley recipes, and suggestions for outfitting and victualizing that merit the study of those who are to embark on similar ventures. On the minus side are tedious details of ferrying people, identified as so many Bills and Charlies (old school chums at Cornell, etc.), out for cocktails, and other minutiae dear to the hearts of yachtsmen. Possibly we are demanding too much in expecting something

new in the line of cruise books. That the Bertrams are good seamen is unquestioned, that their ship was seaworthy and well handled, ditto. But somehow the historical significance of places visited is obscured in the recital of customs, insects, or laundry troubles. Mrs. Bertram is the 9,999th person to discover in print that the Dismal Swamp is not dismal and that George Washington surveyed the canal (which he did not—local Chambers of Commerce handouts to the contrary).

ALBERT DE BURBURE DE WESENBEEK [translated from the French by C. Grasemann], *The Centenary of the Ostend-Dover Line 1846-1946* (Antwerp: Imprimeries Générales Lloyd Anverso Ltd., 1947). Quarto, xvi + 160 pages. Illustrations by George Frederic.

This handsomely printed quarto volume, sumptuous with full-page half-tones and colored vignettes and tail-pieces for each chapter, comes as welcome evidence of the recovery of Belgium. It is fully up to the high pre-war standard of Belgian book-making.

The work is not simply a glorification of one company but a history of cross-channel transportation between England and Flanders from the earliest times. A good half of the book tells the story of sailing packets and mail coaches before the era of steam. The successive crack ships of the Ostend-Dover Line are lovingly described and beautifully illustrated. Their fortunes are followed into the two World Wars, when they became naval auxiliaries. Royal progresses and state visits are described with a light touch. That of the European Squadron United States Fleet in 1868, commanded by Admiral Farragut in *Franklin*, even enriched the local dialect. Thousands of people came to Ostend from all parts of Belgium to view *la flotte américaine*, and the uncovered decks of the mail packets were crowded to the gunwales with sightseers, when a sudden cloudburst drenched everyone to the skin. A punning allusion was inevitable, *une flotte américaine* became the colloquial word for any sudden and torrential downpour.

DIEGO GARCIA DE PALACIO, *Instrucion Nauthica . . .* Mexico, 1587. (Facsimile reprint. Madrid, Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, 1944. Foreword by Capitan de Navio Julio F. Guillen.)

Readers of THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE will recall Dr. Vernon D. Tate's careful analysis of this, the first nautical book published in the western world. Only some eight or ten copies of the original are known to exist. Now a complete, beautifully printed facsimile has been made as volume VIII of the series *Coleccion de Incunables Americanos*.

*Log Chips, a periodical publication of recent maritime history*, Volume I, No. 1, July 1948. 8½ x 11 inches (mimeographed), 9 pages. Published by John Lyman, 606 Avenue E, Washington 19, D. C. \$1.00 per volume of 12 issues.

John Lyman, one of the most industrious contributors to THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE and other maritime journals, has now created a mimeographed publication

'to preserve and disseminate in a concise form the researches of the editor and his correspondents and to serve as a means of communication among them.' It is intended to supplement existing periodicals by presenting in extremely simple form lists and tabular material of slight interest to the casual reader but of permanent value to the serious student concerning recent maritime history. The first issue contains, among other things, lists of five- and six-masted schooners built on the east coast, an opening installment of four-masted schooners built on the east coast, and a list of sailing ships launched in the United Kingdom in 1886 arranged by builders.

The extent and profundity of John Lyman's research is already known to readers of *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE* and *Log Chips* is most enthusiastically recommended to all those who care for sailing vessels of the later periods.

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A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY



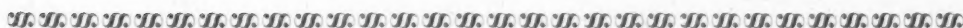
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